The Communist

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THE TREND IN LABOR'S RANKS

ROY HUDSON

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MAY DAY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR A LABOR-FARMER ALLIANCE

EDITORIAL

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THE ORIGINS OF MAY DAY

HERBERT BIEL

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DECLARATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF MEXICO AND CHILE

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EDITOR: EARL BROWDER

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EARL BROWDER FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CAMPAIGN

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A., APRIL 9, 1941

TO ALL Party Members:

Dear Comrades: The Fiftieth Anniversary of Comrade Earl Browder takes place on May 20. Our beloved comrade, the leader of our Party and the greatest leader and teacher of the American working class, will be behind prison doors on this, his fiftieth birthday. Prison bars will separate him from his Party comrades, from the working class, from his family, because he dares to expose the criminal war plans of Wall Street's government and seeks to arouse the American working class and people to defend the peace of our nation and the security of its people.

Comrades, members of the Communist Party, on Comrade Browder's fiftieth birthday let us demonstrate anew that, although Comrade Browder is behind prison walls, the forces of reaction, fascism and war have not silenced his great voice. Let us demonstrate that our Party continues with increased confidence and determination the struggle for the cause he so ably champions.

Let us launch a *Browder fiftieth anniversary campaign* during the period May 1 to June 15. The purpose of this campaign will be to celebrate Browder's birthday and to advance the fight for his freedom by strengthening the Communist Party, the Party of Browder. The National Committee proposes that each state organization should immediately make all preparations necessary to launch the campaign on May 1. Plans should be worked out to achieve the following objectives:

1. Organize huge mass meetings on May 20 to celebrate Browder's fiftieth birthday and to demand his freedom.

2. Circulate and master Browder's teachings. For a mass sale of all Browder's books, especially a birthday edition of Browder's latest book, *The Way Out*, and Robert Minor's pamphlet, *Free Earl Browder!*

3. Extend the permanent circulation of the *Daily Worker*. Let every reader during this period buy *one extra copy each day* and use it to win a *permanent Daily Worker reader*. For a special Browder birthday edition of at least 100,000 copies!

4. Recruit thousands of new

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members into the Party from those sections of the working class that already share our indignation and protest at the imprisonment of Browder, who join us in our deep hatred of the forces of reaction that are dragging our country into war and that are responsible for the imprisonment of such an outstanding American as Browder.

The strengthening of our Party by 5,000 new recruits in six weeks from the ranks of workers engaging in great economic struggles is a tremendous task, but one which will best answer the attempts of Wall Street and the White House to deprive the American workers of their political rights by attacks on our Party. And it will be the greatest tribute and birthday gift which our Party membership can give to Comrade Browder. Every Party District is called upon to work out voluntarily its responsibility toward this goal, and to politically mobilize and organize the entire Party to achieve this great task.

Let our determination and resoluteness in achieving these tasks in connection with our struggle for the *immediate and unconditional freedom of Earl Browder* result in tens of thousands of Party and non-Party workers, professionals, Negroes, farmers and youth remembering Earl Browder on his fiftieth birthday in Atlanta Penitentiary. Forward to a mighty Browder anniversary campaign to build the Party, master Browder's teachings, and increase the circulation of the *Daily Worker!*

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY,
U. S. A.
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER,
National Chairman,
ROBERT MINOR,
Acting Secretary

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EDITORIALS

MAY DAY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR A LABOR-FARMER ALLIANCE

MAY DAY this year—the day of international working class solidarity—is of particular significance for the working people of the United States, as it is for the toiling masses everywhere. In the midst of the still spreading imperialist war, carrying death and destruction to the masses in the war-torn countries of the capitalist world, with the reactionary offensive of the bourgeoisie against the economic standards and political rights of the peoples becoming daily more ruthless and more reckless, and with the resistance of the masses to this offensive also growing daily in power and class consciousness, this traditional day of international working class solidarity stands forth as a glowing promise of deliverance from the hell of capitalist misrule. It stands forth as a renewed assertion of the truth that the international working class, freeing itself of the poison of reformism and Social-Democratism, cementing its proletarian class unity, building its alliance with all working people of town and country, is steadfastly preparing for the fulfillment of its historic mission—to put an end to the disastrous rule of capitalism and imperialism, to make an end to the war, to establish a true people's peace, and to build the socialist society of freedom and security for all, the socialist society which has already triumphed on one-sixth of the earth—in the Soviet Union.

In a more immediate sense, the message of this May Day to the American working class and its allies is *organization, solidarity and class independence.* All of this is absolutely imperative to meet the daily onslaughts of the exploiters and warmakers; and all of this is growing daily before our very eyes in the current magnificent economic and political struggles of the masses of the American people.

To retard this undoubted growth among the masses of organization, solidarity and class independence, the warmakers are resorting more widely to terror, intimidation and violence. They are also intensifying the use of deceit, demagogy and political maneuvering, *designed to split the ranks of labor and to isolate the working class from the middle classes,* with the help of the reformist and Social-Democratic leaders. And this is precisely the meaning of the imperialist attacks on Communists in the trade unions and of the systematic efforts by the same warmaking forces to make

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trouble between labor and the middle classes.

How else can one explain the veritable orgy of incitement of "public opinion" against labor that is currently filling the capitalist press and most of the utterances of capitalist spokesmen? When Henry Ford puts forth the claim that the historic strike in the River Rouge plant is "a Communist conspiracy to seize control of national defense," he is saying something that is too absurd for serious consideration. But the *policy* underlying it is not absurd at all; for the policy is to split the ranks and organizations of labor by using the so-called Communist "issue," a policy in which the reformist leaders—Green, Hillman, Norman Thomas—are playing a major role. And this is not only Ford's policy, as is well known. It is the class policy of the American bourgeoisie and its government.

Furthermore: when the capitalists and their spokesmen assert vehemently that labor's wage movements constitute "profiteering at the expense of the farmers and middle classes," they are giving expression to brazen and stupid nonsense. But the policy motivating these expressions is not nonsense at all; for the policy is to drive a wedge between labor and the middle classes, to isolate one from the other, to attack and defeat each of them separately. And this is the class policy of the bourgeoisie and its government.

This imperialist policy of dividing labor and isolating it from the middle classes, labor must meet, combat and defeat. And it can be done. It can be done by building the proletarian *class unity* of labor, by uniting the rest of the *common people* around labor, on a consistent policy of struggle against the imperialist war, for a people's peace, for the defense of the economic standards and political rights of every section of the toiling people.

It must not be assumed, as the capitalist press would like us to, that the toiling middle classes of city and country are already siding with the imperialists and warmakers against labor. That is not true. It cannot be true in the present situation. And we shall see in a moment why this is so.

The capitalist press, in its efforts to intimidate labor and to ease the way for reformist betrayals, asserts unblushingly that "public opinion" demands drastic measures against labor, its unions and wage movements. The notorious Gallup goes as far as to say that "seventy-two per cent of the voters have said that the government should forbid strikes in the defense industries altogether" (*New York Times*, March 30). And this astounding assertion is reinforced with a "theory" according to which only one-fourth of the public is generally favorable to labor organizations while another one-fourth is consistently opposed to them; the other half being swayed in its attitudes by various considerations of the moment. The question is: to what extent has the Gallup poll been influenced by this "theory"?

Is it true that *only* one-fourth of the voting population is generally favorable to labor unions? No; it

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is not true. The trend since 1933 has been of an increasingly more favorable attitude toward labor and labor unions, not only among the workers but also among wide sections of working farmers and middle classes of the cities. This trend has made itself evident through the subsequent years in the tremendous growth of trade union organization and membership, especially with the rise of the C. I. O. It was evident in labor's increased political influence generally, and in its political contacts with non-labor groups. Trade union membership alone is today over 8,000,000. How is it possible, in the face of these facts, that there should be only one-fourth of the voting population favorable to labor unions? It is simply impossible. The organized workers themselves, together with their friends and relatives among the unorganized, would constitute no less than 30 and perhaps 40 per cent of the voting population that has been consistently favorable to the labor movement in recent years.

What about the middle classes? Here the picture is more checkered, of course. But it is undeniable that increasingly large numbers of these middle classes have marched and stood with labor during the years 1930-1940. It was mainly on the strength of the coming together of labor with these sections of the middle classes that the Roosevelt Administration came to power in 1936 and—under different circumstances—in 1940. And these middle class groups (small merchants, professionals, toiling farmers) would constitute anywhere between 15 and 20 per cent of the voting population.

Altogether, therefore, the number of voters favorable to the labor movement must be estimated at *no less* than 45 and perhaps 60 per cent of the electorate, and not 25 per cent as called for by the Gallup "theory."

There remains, of course, another large part of the middle classes, of which some have been regularly unfavorable to the labor movement, while others have been periodically vacillating. Most of these had undoubtedly supported the Republicans both in 1936 and 1940. Now, if we should assume (which we cannot) that all of these middle class voters still remain unfavorable to the labor movement, adding to them the voting capacity of the capitalist class, their total proportion in the electorate today couldn't be higher than 55 per cent and probably is closer to about 40 per cent. Thus, even if we take the higher proportion, we get a figure that is far below the 72 per cent of the electorate which Gallup claims demand the prohibition of strikes in the defense industries "altogether."

But, it may be argued, the middle classes have been undergoing certain changes since the outbreak of the war, and also since the last national elections. And that is quite possible, almost certain. The question is: what kind of changes and among what sections of the middle classes?

Taking that section of the middle classes which in the past decade went along with labor (15 to 20 per cent of the electorate), is there any ground for assuming that substantial portions of them have become

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less favorable to labor in the last several months? No; there are no such grounds. The effect of the current strike struggles upon these middle class elements could not, *in the present situation,* be one of alienating them from labor, despite the terrific imperialist barrage of misrepresentation and incitement. Why? Because these middle class elements *themselves* suffer from the effects of the war involvement policy of American imperialism, from the developing war economy, from the steadily tightening finance monopoly capital stranglehold in the economy and politics of the country. Therefore, these middle class elements are *today* more disposed than heretofore to view favorably labor's struggles against these same finance capitalists who are grabbing unheard of profits at the expense of the rest of the people. In view of this central fact, is it likely that the middle class groups, which in the recent past were friendly to labor, would change over to unfriendliness because of the strikes? No; this is not likely. This is *not* taking place. With all the confusion and uncertainty still prevailing among these middle class circles, their attitude to labor today *is tending to become* more friendly, not less. And this will be confirmed by every thoughtful worker who has been engaged in recent strike struggles, whether in New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, California, or any other part of the country.

Now take the other sections of the middle classes, those which in past years were unfavorable to labor—what effects did the strikes have on these circles? In the Gallup polls they are all placed in the category of opponents of labor, calling for drastic measures against strikes in defense industries. But that is not so. These circles, which in the past ten years had followed the Republicans on labor issues, are also undergoing changes. Some of them may indeed have become more hardened opponents of labor in the face of the sharpened class struggle; and these will be found among the rich farmers, among the lower ranks of executives and managerial employees of big corporations (these following the higher ranks), and also among that section of the petty bourgeoisie of the small towns which is economically directly dependent upon local agents of the monopolies.

Undoubtedly these groups make up a substantial part of the population *but by no means the whole* of that large middle class bloc which followed the Republican Party on labor and other issues. The *larger part* of this bloc consists of middle farmers, small farmers, professional groups, petty businessmen, not directly dependent upon the monopolies, and even groups of unorganized workers in small towns. And it is precisely among these groups that the war developments are creating economic and political attitudes which must lead to a more favorable position on labor issues. These groups, located largely in the Middle West, are manifesting strong anti-war moods, due to the fact that the war has worsened their economic position and is threatening even more serious consequences.

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These groups are also beginning to demonstrate more definite anti-monopoly moods, due to the tremendous concentration of war orders (and additional power) in the hands of a few "Eastern" corporations, and due additionally to the fact that the government's industrial war machine is almost completely controlled by big business, which imposes its will upon all *price policies* despite the attempts at "regulation" by government officials.

It does not take much insight to see that such anti-war and anti-monopoly moods among the toiling middle classes of the midwestern farms and small towns are not likely to make them particularly receptive to the current campaign of anti-labor incitements. On the contrary, such moods are likely to make them less receptive; and, *when properly utilized by progressive labor,* such moods can form the basis for friendly and cooperative relations between the workers and these middle class groups for common struggle against the monopolies and warmongers.

And it is at this point that the exposure of the "peace" demagogy of the Lindbergh-Hoover-Vandenberg-Taft imperialists becomes a task of first rate importance, because this section of imperialism is particularly influential among the toiling middle classes of the midwestern farms and small towns. The Lindberghs, Hoovers, Vandenbergs and Tafts are trying to divert the anti-war moods of these middle class groups into imperialist, reactionary and anti-labor channels. It is, therefore, the duty of progressive labor to expose this trick and to bring these middle classes into the common anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, progressive struggle of the people—a struggle directed against imperialist finance capital as a whole.

It can, therefore, be stated with confidence that the majority of the voting population of the country does not now call for "drastic" measures against labor, because the majority is made up of the bulk of the working class and large sections of the middle classes which are not in a mood—by all signs—to countenance the anti-labor incitements of the monopolies and the warmongers. And a final confirmation of this fact is to be found in the very revealing circumstance that in no place was capitalist reaction able to manufacture any sort of an impressive "vigilante" movement against striking workers. This is particularly striking when one compares the course of the present strike movement with that of 1934 and 1937. All of which goes to prove that Gallup's "72 per cent" do not exist.

The conclusions to be drawn from the foregoing are evident. In fighting for the protection and improvement of its economic standards and democratic rights, labor is fighting in a just cause, the cause of the American people against the ruthless offensive of the monopolies and warmongers. It is not a battle for selfish and narrow ends but serves the interests and aspirations of the working people of the country. Hence, labor is receiving, and will continue to receive in ever larger

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volume, the sympathy of considerable sections of working farmers, small businessmen and professionals. Labor today is *not* isolated.

Another conclusion is that the efforts of capitalist reaction to bring about labor's isolation *are not going to stop.* The imperialists *(all* imperialists), the warmongers, and their reformist agents in the labor movement (Hillman, Green, Thomas) will continue and intensify their efforts, perhaps with new means and methods, to drive a wedge between the working class and the toiling middle classes, because this is a *major* policy of the ruling class for the promotion of its war abroad and reactionary offensive at home. Hence progressive labor must exert all its influence to extend and strengthen labor's contacts with the middle classes of city and farm. This requires that labor should actively support the progressive demands of the toiling middle classes in such vital matters as taxation, farm relief, struggle against the monopolies, measures against monopolistic price controls and domination, for the democratic rights of the people, for the rights of the Negro masses, for making the rich pay the cost of the war, for counteracting inflationary trends by maximum expansion of production of consumers goods, etc. This requires also that labor come forward *more prominently and impressively* as the people's vanguard and leader against the imperialist war and for a genuine people's peace, combating not only the Roosevelt section of imperialism but also the Lindbergh-Hoover section, rendering qualified support to such actions of the Wheeler tendency as are directed against the war and are of a progressive character while rejecting and combating all reactionary and imperialist manifestations of this tendency, *developing ever more clearly its own consistent and independent proletarian class line and organizations.*

The final conclusion is to guard and promote further *the class unity of labor.* This is perhaps the most important conclusion; for if capitalist reaction and its reformist agents should be allowed to succeed in retarding the growth of proletarian class unity, the integrity of the labor movement will be seriously endangered, its strength dissipated, and its isolation inevitable. These are precisely the ends sought by capitalist reaction and its reformist agents in attacking the Communist workers in the unions. They seek to break the trade union movement or destroy its independence. Hence, the vital need of protecting the unity, freedom and independence of the trade unions; and this requires unhesitating struggle against all reactionary attacks upon the Communist workers in the unions as well as in other progressive mass organizations. Failure to defend the rights of the Communists spells failure to defend the integrity and freedom of labor organizations. It spells failure to protect and promote proletarian class unity—a unity without which labor cannot succeed in its historic liberating mission.

Progressive labor is therefore called upon to pursue with the utmost determination the struggle for

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the proletarian class unity of the American workers, systematically freeing their movements from reformist influences, and bringing forward American labor ever more prominently as the champion and leader of the people and nation.

MASS INDIGNATION AND CAPITALIST VIOLENCE

The system of division of labor between reactionaries and "liberals," brought forth by the imperialist bourgeoisie in its efforts to chain labor down to the war machine and to paralyze its independent movements—this system has so far not worked out so very well for the warmongers and their reformist agents. That, however, does not mean that the system will be abandoned. But it does mean that—within that very system—somewhat greater stress will be put on outright violence and intimidation as distinguished from "liberal" invitations to labor to "collaborate," while the more "drastic" anti-labor measures are being pushed through the various state legislatures.

In previous discussion in these columns, of the coming of the reactionary-"liberal" division of labor, we have described this system as follows: the reactionaries threaten jail, terror and even death; then the "liberal" appears and offers a "compromise"—a first step in paralyzing labor. If, when and as labor accepts the "compromise," the reactionaries come forward again, threatening labor with even more serious consequences. And, again, the "liberal" is ready with a new "compromise." And so the process continues until capitalist reaction is satisfied that labor has been properly taken care of.

But it has not worked fully according to blueprint. Not that the various actors of this grim play have not played their part; because they did, and very well on the whole. The only thing that interfered was labor's unwillingness to fall for this frame-up, carried through by the monopolies, the Roosevelt Administration, the Hillmans and Greens.

This unwillingness of labor to be taken in by the reactionary-"liberal" frame-up was expressed most eloquently by John L. Lewis in his speech to the Tri-District Convention of the anthracite miners. His answer to the capitalist politicians, "mostly from the South," who propose legislation "to take away from American labor the right to strike or the right to any freedom of action," was as impressive as it was a true reflection of the innermost feelings of the masses. He said:

"Let me say that any political party that would enact such legislation and undertake to make it effective will be swept from power by the outraged vote of a dishonored electorate."

Even plainer was Lewis's answer to Hatton Sumners, "a small town lawyer from Texas," and those who inspired his proposal that strikers shall be electrocuted. Said Lewis:

"They would have to electrocute tomorrow 400,000 bituminous coal miners, and that would be some job.

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And perhaps on the 1st of May they would have to electrocute 115,000 or 120,000 anthracite mine workers, and if I understand and know anything about the mine workers, I can say, oh, boy, what a job."

Thus labor gives the answer to the reactionaries. And to the "liberals," who stand ready to offer to an expectedly intimidated working class the scheme of voluntary surrender, Lewis's answer was no less explicit. He said:

"And may I say further that we are not going to follow this new formula that seems to have been discovered by the Mediation Board in Washington when they wire strikers to go back to work and bust their strike and then come to Washington and mediate for the remnants of it."

In other words, since the workers refused to be intimidated by the blood and thunder of the reactionaries, the "liberal" had a poor basis for their offers of voluntary surrender so dear to the hearts of the Hillmans and Greens. There was thus a poor basis for the full realization of the scheme of first "bust their strike" and then "mediate for the remnants of it."

In feeling this way about the attitude of the bourgeoisie to the just demands of labor the workers are motivated by very serious considerations, by the consideration that the ruling classes are completely ignoring and opposing the most elementary needs and demands of the masses. They—the masses—are especially inflamed by the outrageous unfairness of the ruling class, its press and its government. They know that the large corporations have been haggling and bargaining with the government *for months* to make "national" defense orders sufficiently profitable to themselves, *thus holding up production.* Almost nothing about this appeared in the capitalist press, certainly not on the front pages. And what did the government do? It bargained patiently and gave in. It got Congress to pass all legislation on taxes and amortization required by the monopolies. It placed almost the entire war production machine under the control of the Knudsens—direct agents of the monopolies, with the Hillmans serving as window dressing for the gullible. Even such a warmongering magazine as *The Nation* feels forced to publish a report from its Washington correspondent, I. F. Stone, saying that "an open contempt in dealing with labor's claims and labor's suggestions is evident."

The masses know furthermore that monopoly profits continue to grow at an astounding rate—a regular orgy of war profiteering, and the government helps the process along. The latest summaries of the National City Bank show that the 1940 profits of forty-three iron and steel corporations were 98.5 per cent above 1939, the percent of return on net worth being 8.5 in 1940 as compared with 4.4 in 1939; that seventy-seven corporations in the machinery group increased their profits from 1939 to 1940 by 68.5 per cent, and the per cent of return on net worth from 8.5 to 13.9; that twenty-nine corporations in electrical equipment increased their

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profits during same years by 36.1 per cent, and the per cent return on net worth from 8.9 to 11.8.

How can the masses fail to feel outraged and deeply indignant when in the face of such profits, created by labor's sweat and blood, the capitalists and their government threaten and apply violence and trickery to put down wage increase movements for 5 and 10 cents an hour? And this indignation is spreading and growing among the widest masses of the people.

The masses also see that the needs of the unemployed are being callously ignored and sacrificed. Or do we still have unemployed? No less than about nine million. And it is already becoming clear, as anticipated in these columns, "that unemployment in the year 1941 will be barely two million less than in 1940." (C.I.O. *Economic Outlook.*)

Studies of the W.P.A. show that while in 1940 a million men went off its rolls, almost half a million new ones came on. These studies show further that while 90,000 men per month go off the W. P. A. rolls voluntarily, about 40,000 new ones come on each month. But what is happening to the relief services? They are being handled in a manner as though unemployment was about to disappear around the corner.

Mass indignation thus becomes further intensified, not only among the workers but also among wide sections of working farmers and city middle classes. Everybody knows that the farmers have been hard hit by the war, especially the working farmers. Yet government expenditures for farm relief and rehabilitation, never adequate for serious improvements, are now practically being liquidated. It is true that parity payments continue, but on a reduced scale, and most of the benefits, as usual, go to the rich farmer and farm-capitalist. At the same time prices for industrial products are rising, due to price fixing by the monopolies and their control of the priority system, while the increases in the prices of food products go mostly to the food monopolies and speculators. And the burden of taxation becomes heavier.

The farmers are dissatisfied—that is a fact. They are indignant, the same as the workers. And the main reason why this indignation has not yet found a sufficiently clear and organized expression on a national scale is *the character of the leadership* that dominates the major farm organizations of the country.

One section of this leadership works hand in glove with the Roosevelt Administration, functioning practically as agents of the government. Another section goes along with the Republican "opposition," looking out for the interests of the agrarian capitalists and subordinating the demands of the small and middle farmer. Both of these sections of the dominant leadership in the major farm organizations pursue essentially the same capitalist class line as against the wishes and desires of the mass of the farmers. And only where a progressive farm leadership is in existence (which is the case in a number of places) do the demands of the working farm-

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ers receive more or less adequate expression.

It is clear that an effective defense of the interests of the working farmers requires a systematic struggle against the dominant reactionary leadership in the major farm organizations. And this is primarily the task of the progressive anti-war forces among the farmers, the forces that represent and champion the true interests of the working farmers as against the agrarian capitalists and their monopolistic allies. Labor—progressive labor—can and must do a great deal, as is being done here and there, to assist and collaborate with the progressive forces among the farmers.

Thus the will of the masses will become more articulate, more organized, more effective. The struggle for the alliance between labor and the farmers will be further advanced, drawing into this developing people's front wide sections of the city middle classes, those that are already inclining favorably toward the progressive movements of the workers and farmers and that are realizing ever more clearly that only in this alliance can they find the solution of their special problems.

It will not be denied that the need for promoting further, and at faster tempo, the alliance of labor with the middle classes is very *urgent*. The enemy is not resting. Even though the latest concentrated attempt of finance capital and its government to drive a wedge between labor and the middle classes (on the strikes issue) has failed in the main among the masses, these attempts will be repeated. While putting increasing emphasis on the use of direct violence (police, troops, etc.) and on "drastic" reactionary legislation to keep the masses down, the ruling imperialist circles will also intensify the use of demagogy, incitement, bribery, maneuvering of all sorts, to divide the mass movements and split their ranks, employing even more extensively its reformist agents in these movements. The system of division of labor between the reactionaries and "liberals" will continue for a while yet, and this carries serious dangers to the progressive anti-war movements of the people.

Hence the *urgency* of the situation. Hence the need of concentrated and uninterupted activity to further *organize* the masses, to clarify them, to bring to effective expression their needs and desires, to defend energetically their daily and pressing interests. In short, the need of building the anti-imperialist people's peace front under labor's leadership. And we shall proceed in the conviction that the final victory belongs to the people. As stated by our leader, Earl Browder:

"The economic royalists and their servants are riding high and gleefully congratulate themselves that the masses have been hog-tied, that nothing can now spoil their plans for a great imperialist speculation with the blood and lives of the American people. But the fight is only begun. Notwithstanding all difficulties and hardships, the American people cannot forever be tricked, bulldozed and suppressed. They are fighting back with increas-

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ing numbers, energy, intelligence and determination. And the final victory will belong to the people." *(The Way Out.)*

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATISM EXPOSES ITSELF FURTHER

Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist Party, has been trying desperately to make the people believe that he is actually opposed to the imperialist war and that he is really fighting the warmakers. But from all available evidence it transpires that he is not succeeding much. Somehow many people, not only Communists or their followers, are acquiring the impression that there is something "phony" about Thomas's opposition to the war and to the war policies of American imperialism. And it goes without saying that this impression is very well founded.

A brief recapitulation of Thomas' "development" since the outbreak of the war will be helpful. At first he took the position that the imperialist war and the struggle to keep America out of it "was not the main issue." Astounding but a fact. He even framed his election campaign platform for 1940 on this proposition — on the proposition that the main issue is not to keep America out of war but the "immediate" introduction of socialism. Communists had pointed out at the time that this was merely a reformist trick to take the minds of the masses off the war and to weaken the fight against capitalism without which no socialism is possible.

But the war proved stronger than Norman Thomas; and by the efforts of the Communist Party's election campaign, led by Browder, and through the anti-war struggles of the progressive labor movement and its allies, the fight to keep America out of war did become a major issue, *the* major issue. Hence, Thomas changed his tactics, and began "to struggle" against the war. But how? In a vary peculiar way. He said: a victory of British imperialism is *preferable,* but we must keep out of the war. He did *not* expose the imperialist class character of the war on both sides. He did *not* expose Wall Street's slogan of "aid to Britain" as a demagogic cover for the imperialist-expansionist and war aims of American imperialism and as a means of dragging America into the war. He did no such thing. On the contrary, he practically accepted the "aid to Britain" business by his "preference" for a victory of Britain imperialism; and by doing so, Thomas was weakening the anti-war struggle of the masses while helping the warmakers to drag this country step by step into the war.

Now he went a step further. Under the guise of discussing "War Aims and Peace Terms" *(The Call,* April 5), he has actually enlisted in the imperialist fight of the Anglo-American bloc. This Thomas does very cautiously, of course; but he does it none the less. He discusses the question of how to make sure of a victory for American and British imperialism, a victory which he considers "desirable," and proposes the formulation of *such* "war aims and peace terms" as are best calculated in his judgment to deceive

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the masses and deliver them to the imperialists. He writes:

"... every day that passes makes it clearer that any hope of desirable British victory depends upon giving the peoples of occupied Europe, and even of Germany itself, something definite to hope for if they turn against the Nazi regime."

Clear, isn't it? Thomas calls for another Wilson "14 points" to give the people "something to hope for" in order to insure "a desirable British victory." Which means a victory for American imperialism also, and perhaps more for American imperialism than for British. He wants this new edition of Wilson's 14 points, because:

"To win over to decency potential support in Germany and even to hold sympathetic support of the masses of occupied Europe now suffering under British blockade as well as under German tyranny it will be necessary to enunciate, with sincerity, plans for the peace of Europe which will fire the imagination and awaken the hopes of the masses of the plain people."

"Awaken the hopes of the plain people"—*in whom?* In Churchill and Roosevelt? In the rapacious imperialist bourgeoisie of England and the United States? Yes; that's what Thomas is saying. And this calls itself a Socialist; is the leader of a Socialist Party; and is plotting with imperialist counter-revolution against the Soviet Union "on the ground" that the latter had betrayed socialism.

Will the misguided but sincere Socialists who still cling to Thomas finally open their eyes?

Of course, Thomas also provided himself a couple of asides with which to cover up and "explain" his new surrender step to imperialism. He would not be a reformist, but an open imperialist, if he did not do that. Hence he says that "we do not believe that any world government can safely or wisely be established at the end of this war" and that "we reject the concept of Anglo-American joint imperialism." But upon close examination, this makes his new betrayal even clearer.

Why doesn't he believe that any world government "can safely or wisely be established at the end of *this* war"? For a sincere Socialist there could be only one reason: a fear that, if the peace is made by the imperialist bourgeoisie, any kind of "world government" would be merely a cover for the preparation of new imperialist wars and counter-revolutionary attacks against the Soviet Union and against the revolutionary movements of the masses. This kind of Socialist would certainly be justified in his fears that if the imperialist bourgeoisie makes the peace, then that is the kind of "world government" we would probably get; but he would be *wrong* in assuming that this war must end in the victory of imperialism. Such a victory would be certain *only* if the masses follow to the end the policies of Norman Thomas, of Social-Democratism; but if they follow the policies advocated by the Communists, as they are increasingly doing, then the end of the

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war will bring the *defeat* of imperialism, of *all* imperialisms, leading to the victory of the peoples, to the eventual victory of socialism all over the world.

But what are the reasons of Norman Thomas for disbelieving in world government at the end of this war? If he were a Socialist assuming a *people's* victory at the end of the war, what objections could he have to a world union of socialist republics? None at all. Or, on the other hand, if he were a sincere Socialist but mistakenly assuming an *imperialist* victory at the end of the war, then quite naturally he would not support the idea of "world" government. But, then, he would also not support the imperialist war; he would not be calling upon Churchill and Roosevelt to give him a new "14 points" with which to drag the masses into supporting the imperialist slaughter. But Norman Thomas *does* support the Anglo-American imperialists in this war and *does* call for such "14 points." Then why is he so cagey about "world" government? Shall we say that this is only *a tactical concession to Lindbergh and Hoover*?

Clearly, Thomas has not succeeded in covering up the tracks of his new step of surrender to the Anglo-American imperialists by expressing doubts in the wisdom of a "world" government. Nor has he helped himself much along the same lines by saying that "we reject the *concept* of Anglo-American joint imperialism." What does he mean by "concept"? That is no mere concept any more. It is a grim reality. It is tangible military collaboration between American and British imperialism in the world war against the Axis imperialists. By saying today that he "desires" a British victory, Thomas says in effect that he desires a victory for the Anglo-American imperialist bloc which, in this case, means a victory for American imperialism. And for this victory he is working. How, then, shall we understand Thomas' "rejection" of the concept of a joint Anglo-American imperialism? Only in this way: *he rejects the concept to deceive the people and supports the reality to serve the imperialists.*

And this explains also some of the "methods" advocated by Thomas for the anti-war struggle. He systematically plays down the role of the working class in this struggle, the role of progressive labor, as ally and leader of the rest of the common people. The central idea of such an *alliance* is totally absent in his scheme of things; his own allies he seeks in the imperialist tendencies emanating from the Lindbergh-Hoover circles. Thomas always glosses over the *class* character of the anti-war struggle. He studiously seeks to dissociate the *economic* struggles of the masses from their *political* struggles, thus attempting to weaken both. He tries to *confine* the anti-war struggle almost exclusively to petitioning Congress on various anti-war issues *instead of linking* up such petition movements with organized self-activities of the masses, instead of basing and rooting such petition movements in the economic and political struggles of the masses *in the industries, on the farms, in the city communities.*

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Above all, Thomas continues to be one of the most vicious enemies of the struggle for the class unity of labor, for a united people's anti-imperialist front headed by labor. He never lets an "opportunity" slip by without slandering and inciting against the Soviet Union; and this in itself exposes his "anti-war" position as fake and fraud. For how can one successfully fight against the imperialist war and for a genuine peace without supporting the Soviet Union in its peace policies, without—at least—fighting for friendly relations with the Soviet Union? And how can one take seriously the "anti-war" position of the same Thomas who approved as "legal" the jailing of Earl Browder whom the imperialists have placed in captivity just because he is the outstanding leader of the people's fight against the war?

This is how Thomas "fights" against the war. This is how he fought against the Lend-Lease Bill. No wonder, therefore, that some of his followers now feel disappointed in the outcome. Apparently in reply to such reactions to his policies, Thomas writes:

"By no means is it true that our struggles thus far have been in vain. The amendments to the Lend-Lease bill are worthwhile, and substantially reduce the awful risk inherent in it." (*The Call*, March 8.)

So there you are. In order to hide the bankruptcy of his policies and methods—his way of "fighting" the war—he whitewashes the war-dictatorship bill, claiming that the amendments "substantially reduce the awful risk inherent in it." Isn't this an eye-opener?

But where do such disappointments come from? They come not from the real anti-war struggle of the anti-imperialist camp led by progressive labor; these struggles are creating strength, confidence and wider mass mobilizations. Witness the American Peace Meeting, held in New York, April 5-6, with its 5,000 delegates from all parts of the country, representing organized fighting detachments of the growing army of peace: unions, striking workmen, youth organizations, farm groups, women, Negroes, peace organizations, church groups, etc. And the significance of this movement comes not only from its numbers but also from its anti-imperialist policies, *its close contact with the fighting mass movements of the people and their daily struggles,* its appreciation of the decisive role of labor in the fight for peace. This movement does not have to explain that *its* struggle against the Lend-Lease Bill was not in vain, because every participant knows that *this* movement has grown stronger in the fight against that bill, stronger for the present new stage of the anti-war fight. The disappointments come from the Social-Democratic policies of the Norman Thomases.

And why is this so? Why, on the other hand, does Thomas have to meet feelings of disappointment? The movement headed by the American Peace Mobilization is waging an *anti-imperialist* struggle and is increasingly becoming more conscious of it. It is becoming more conscious of the fact that it is fight-

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ing *to reverse and defeat the major course of the ruling class*—the course for war abroad and reactionary dictatorship at home. It is realizing ever more clearly that the victory in this fight calls for a united people headed by the working class and led by dependable and consistent anti-imperialist forces, and is moving in that direction. It is learning the great truth that the people can indeed influence the course of events but that this requires that incomparably larger masses than hitherto have to be set in motion in organized daily struggle against the offensive of the imperialist bourgeoisie on all fronts; that labor must achieve greater class unity and must come forward much more prominently and impressively as the head of the people's struggles against the warmakers; that the influence of the *consistent* anti-imperialists must grow much stronger and deeper. But Thomas' "methods" are those of a *sham* battle.

In its statement on the imprisonment of Comrade Browder, the National Committee of the Communist Party, outlining the course of the fight for taking America out of the war, for defending the trade unions and all progressive mass organizations, for improving wages and working conditions, for guarding the right to strike and for keeping the Bill of Rights a living document, makes this fundamental point:

"But if these vital aims are to be achieved, the unity of labor and of the people must be cemented. This can be accomplished only if such unity includes Communists as well as non-Communists. This unity must be built upon recognition that when the rights of the Communists are violated, a blow has been struck at the rights of all of us. The fight for the freedom of Earl Browder, therefore, is the fight of all the forces of labor and progress." (*Daily Worker,* March 26.)

The anti-war fight which is waged in this spirit and moves in this direction must make and is making substantial advances despite all difficulties and persecutions, leaving no room either for illusions or disappointments. And *the deeper* the influence of these ideas penetrates into the mass movements, *the greater* will be their achievements. The fact that these movements are beginning to see the crucial importance for the anti-war struggle in America of the fight for friendly relations with the Soviet Union, indicates a healthy response to the moods of the masses (as seen in the mass sale of the Dean of Canterbury's book, *Soviet Power*) as well as a growing political understanding and effectiveness.

But Thomas' policy and methods, arising from his "rejection" of the concept of Anglo-American imperialism *but acceptance of its reality*, are bound to create and are creating disappointments and disillusionments. That is so because Thomas' fight is a sham fight, not a real one. The more this fact is exposed before the masses, the more effective will become the anti-war struggle of the people, the more significant its advances and victories.

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CLOSE RANKS ON MAY DAY

TAKE OUR COUNTRY OUT OF THE BANKERS' WAR—NO CONVOYS—NO A.E.F.

MANIFESTO OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY

AMERICAN labor marshals its ranks for May Day this year in a world aflame with war, while our own country is being plunged headlong down the road to catastrophe. Only six months ago President Roosevelt solemnly repeated his election pledge to the American people to keep our country out of the war. Today all of these pledges stand exposed as flagrant deceptions.

The second imperialist war has already become a world imperialist war. Nation after nation, continent after continent is being engulfed in this mad slaughter for imperialist gains. Only the great Soviet Union, through its socialist construction and firm, consistent peace policy, is not only keeping war from its own borders, but showing the way to peace to all peoples.

The Roosevelt Administration deceived the people when it pretended that the United States could take sides in this war and yet keep out of it. Today our country, already deeply involved in the war, is being convoyed into the very heart of the second world imperialist slaughter.

The Roosevelt Administration deceived the people when it pretended that every step into the war was a step for peace. Today it wants the people to believe that there is no escape from the war, that participation in the shooting stage of the war is inevitable.

Yes, the policy of "aid-to-Britain" has meant war for America.

But it is not true that our country must inevitably continue along this disastrous course. America can get out and stay out of the war. The people of America can win the struggle for peace. But to do this, labor must take a decisive stand against the war. It must break all ties that lead to the support of the imperialist war, breaking with all imperialists, the Roosevelts, the Hoovers, the Lindberghs, etc. It must achieve class unity and unite the American people around itself in a powerful peace front.

* * *

The mass of organized labor in the C.I.O., the A. F. of L. and the Railroad Brotherhoods is firmly opposed to the war. They know that on both sides it is a bankers' war for profits and world empire, a war that is bringing only death and destruction to the working people. But labor leaders like Green, Woll,

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Hillman, Dubinsky and George Harrison are giving full support to the domestic and foreign policies of the Administration, while Norman Thomas is waging merely a sham battle, making it possible for the Administration to flout the will of the people.

Only by repudiating the treachery of these misleaders can labor wage an effective struggle for peace.

The millions of members of the growing C.I.O. are firmly opposed to the war. The C.I.O. unions are in the forefront of labor's struggle in defense of the people's economic standards and civil liberties. Large sections of the C.I.O. unions are actively participating in the anti-war movement. But as a whole, unfortunately, the leadership of the C.I.O., headed by President Murray, by failing to speak out forcefully against the foreign policy of the Administration, is making it all the easier for the warmongers to violate the will of the people.

Only by living up to the program of the C.I.O. convention, by organizing the widest masses for daily struggle against the imperialist-reactionary policies of the capitalist class, can the leadership of the C.I.O. defend the interests of the working people and help counteract the betrayal of the people's desire for peace.

* * *

May Day 1941 sees labor grown more powerful and more conscious, offering far greater resistance than a year ago against those who, in disregard of law, the Constitution and their pledges to the people, have plunged our country into the European war.

May Day 1941 sees increasing sections of the working people coming to the realization that the way to peace is not through the war-plans of world conquest by Anglo-American imperialism any more than through the similar attempts of the German imperialists, but in solidarity with the movement of the workers and the people of the entire world for a People's Peace in spite of and against all the warring imperialists.

May Day 1941 sees the American workers beginning to develop a firmer bond of fellowship with the workers who are striving for a People's Government and a people's peace in England, Germany and other countries—a peace without annexations and oppression, but based on the national liberation and fraternal friendship of all peoples. American labor holds out its hand to the peoples of the occupied countries of Europe who, suffering untold hunger and repression, find new ways every day to battle against the enslavers of their nations. American labor no less readily extends its hand to the peoples of India, China, Africa and Malay, and the East Indies peoples, and proclaims loyalty to their freedom and independence.

May Day 1941 sees growing sections of our people inspired in their struggle for peace by the determination of the people of the great Soviet Union to carry through a policy of maintaining true neutrality and peace and of seeking all

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means to restrict the spreading fires of war.

* * *

As we look back over the course of the past year we can learn many profound lessons.

A year ago the President pledged that the gains and rights of labor would be respected. But the anti-trust laws were invoked against the unions while the trusts grew more powerful. When the workers were forced to strike to protect their unions and living conditions in the face of rising living costs, the Administration tried to break their strikes through the Knox-Knudsen no-strike edict against the Allis Chalmers workers, through the encouragement of local police violence, through the establishment of the Mediation Board, through threats of the electric chair against strikers and through concealed Administration support for anti-strike measures like the Vinson Bill.

Today labor is beginning to see that the President's pledge to respect labor's gains was no less "campaign oratory" than his pledge to keep the country out of the war. The workers are seeing ever more clearly that the war program of the Administration is directed just as fully against the working people at home as against Wall Street's commercial rivals abroad.

The masses of the people have heard the Administration declaring that the "entire country must sacrifice." But each time the word "sacrifice" is uttered, the profits of the munitions manufacturers rise still higher while attempts are made to speed up the workers, lengthen the work-week and "freeze" wages. Labor is realizing today that the words "national defense," "national unity" and "sacrifice" have been made by the monopoly capitalists into a new language for profiteering, exploitation, the open shop and war.

* * *

A year ago, President Roosevelt solemnly pledged that civil rights would be given full protection. When that pledge was accompanied by the arrest of Earl Browder, leader of the Communist Party, large sections of the working class and other toilers recognized that this pledge too was made with tongue in cheek; for the arrest of Browder was really the first step to muzzle labor and all the people in order to drive them more quickly into the war.

Today we can see the campaign against civil liberties extended against the trade unions and their leaders, against the teachers, the civil service workers, the Negro population and all defenders of the living standards and democracy of the people.

On this May Day we can see that under the guise of "making America an arsenal of democracy," the rulers of the country are using against the people all the weapons from the arsenals of fascism.

In fact, there is no better proof of the hatred for the people by the masters of the country than this persecution of Earl Browder and the Communist Party. It is here that the warmakers of all coun-

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tries find common ground. When Roosevelt sends Browder to prison for four years on an alleged technical passport charge, he is only following in the footsteps of Hitler of Germany, Petain of France, Mussolini of Italy, Franco of Spain, all of whom have jailed leading Communists and militant trade unionists as part of their program of war.

* * *

On this May Day ever wider masses of people will demand the freedom of Earl Browder!

Reviewing the events of the past year, therefore, the working people see more and more clearly the need of advancing their own program in behalf of the interests of all the common people.

Labor faces the task of establishing a firm unity within its own ranks around a militant program for completing the organization of the unorganized, winning wage increases to meet the rising living costs and for defending the right to strike. This unity can be achieved only by fighting the influence of the William Greens, the Sidney Hillmans and the David Dubinskys—"Social-Democrats" all who, like the Norman Thomas "Socialists" and the Right-wing "Socialists"—work within the labor movement only in order to chain the workers to the war-chariot of Wall Street.

Labor must be ever more strongly united in the struggle against all forms of discrimination against the Negro people and foreign-born toilers.

Growing sections of labor on this May Day will express their support of the movement of the people in the warring countries of Germany, Britain and Italy as they struggle against their own rulers and for a people's peace.

They will encourage the people of the occupied countries as they battle against the double oppression by the invader and their own capitalists and strive for national liberation.

* * *

American labor will extend a hand to the colonial peoples throughout the world and help them to attain complete independence from all imperialists. It will greet the people of the South American countries and join with them in combatting the drive of Yankee imperialism to induce them to surrender their independence, their control over their foreign trade and even their sovereignty over their own territory, under the guise of "Hemisphere defense" against other imperialist powers. It will send greetings to its Canadian brothers to the North who, deeply engulfed in the war, are courageously standing up before the assaults against their unions and their rights.

American labor will look across the broad Pacific and send brotherly May Day salutations to the heroic people of China as they fight against the armed forces or intrigues of all the imperialists, including those of Wall Street, and against the traitors within their own ranks and

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seek to establish a truly independent China.

In taking stock this May Day, ever larger sections of labor in the United States, already grown disillusioned by the false promises of the capitalists and their agents, will see more clearly than before that the cause of the economic crises, mass unemployment and imperialist wars is the capitalist system itself. This system has long outlived its time, and in its final stage of imperialism it can now bring the people only war after war, loss of national independence, more intense exploitation, wider mass unemployment, suppression of civil rights, mass suffering and death. The capitalist system must be replaced by a new system — socialism — wherein the people of America, led by the organized working class and farmers, will own and operate the resources and industries of the country for the use of the people as a whole, for a better, happier life for all the people and for a world where wars and suffering will be banished forever.

* * *

American workers, farmers, youth, working women, white and Negro people: Close your ranks on May Day. Your destiny and that of the whole nation lies in your own hands.

The bankers have brought misery and oppression to the people; you must bring security and liberty. The imperialists have made the war; we, the people, must make the peace.

Get out and keep out of the imperialist war—No convoys, no A.E.F. —The Yanks are not coming—Dissolve the Anglo-American war alliance—For a people's peace with no indemnities and no annexations—Against the militarization of the United States under the false pretense of national defense.

Make Wall Street pay for Wall Street's war—Defend your living standards—Fight against high prices and war profiteering—Against the excessive taxes for the low and middle income groups—Against the speed-up and the lengthening of working hours—for wage increases —for increased WPA appropriations for unemployed—Support the demands of the toiling farmers—Continued and increased aid to needy youth.

Defend your civil rights—protect the right to strike—defeat the strike-breaking Vinson Bill—Defeat the attempts to establish compulsory arbitration through the National Mediation Board—Defeat the innumerable bills in Congress and State Legislatures to restrict civil liberties—protect the well-being and civil rights of the conscripts—Demand an end to Jim Crowism and the passage of the anti-lynching bill—Demand an end to anti-Semitism—Demand an end to discrimination and persecution of the foreign-born—Against the anti-trust prosecutions of the trade unions—Defend the legal rights of the Communist Party—Free Earl Browder and other class war prisoners—Against the Wall Street military dictatorship.

Build the trade unions—Organize 100 per cent the Ford, Little Steel

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and other open shop industries—For trade union unity—Build a Farmer-Labor Party.

For friendly relations between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—Support the peace policy of the Soviet Union—Full support to the oppressed peoples of the conquered countries in Europe in their fight for national independence—Full aid to China in its fight against Japanese aggression and an embargo on war materials to Japan—Against American imperialist domination of Latin America.

For a people's government—For a socialist America.

Build the Communist Party, the party of the American working class and all toilers.

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THE TREND IN LABOR'S RANKS

BY ROY HUDSON

THE outbreak of the second imperialist war placed before the American working class as its central task the need of opposing the imperialist war program of Wall Street, of leading the people in the struggle for the defense of their interests, and of keeping America out of the war.

It is to the credit of the American working class that from the very beginning its opposition to entry into the war was practically unanimous. But while it was opposed to American involvement, it was unable to see behind the false mask of those who plotted America's entry into the war. Only sections of the labor movement, and at times only the Communists, understood this task. Therefore, in spite of opposition to the war, the lack of clarity and the fact that the great majority was unprepared to follow the leadership of the Communist Party, which alone had an effective program, have prevented the workers and the people as a whole from developing the program, organization and unity that could have defeated the Roosevelt policy which step by step has led us ever deeper into the war. Nevertheless, despite this weakness, labor and the people have succeeded to some extent in defending working and living standards, in safeguarding labor's rights. Their opposition succeeded in slowing down the process by which, with one unlawful step after another, America has been plunged into the war, and in preventing up to this time the open military expedition sought by Roosevelt.

* * *

What is the perspective today, after a year and half of the war? Is the working class being drugged, duped and terrorized into acceptance of the war program, or, on the basis of its own experience, is it achieving greater independence and greater unity? Is it moving in the direction of support to the war program or of more effective struggle against it? Is it beginning to recognize that with the outbreak of the war it was confronted with a new situation and, therefore, with the need to work out and develop policies and tactics that would correspond to this situation?

The answer to these questions is that the *trend* of the great mass of the organized workers is to defend their interests more actively and militantly and to develop greater

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resistance to Wall Street's program. *The direction in which the working class is moving is not toward greater support to Roosevelt's program but toward greater resistance.* The position and understanding of the working class have been and are changing in favor of an anti-imperialist policy. No matter what their affiliation, the tendency of *all* workers is in the direction of a more militant defense of living standards, of organizing the unorganized, of defending the right to strike and all civil rights and social legislation, and of opposition to America's entry into the war. This is the direction in which the workers want to go, and recently they have made advances of the greatest importance. This is proved by the great Ford strike; by the wage movements in mining, steel, electrical, marine, and other decisive industries; by the greater participation of the trade unions in the organized people's peace movement. This is true, notwithstanding the fact that Hillman, Green, Dubinsky & Co. have completely identified themselves with the war program of their masters. And if some sections of labor still lag behind, it only means that here the bourgeoisie, with the aid of the Social-Democrats, is still able to prevent the workers from effectively realizing their desires and from marching in the direction toward which they tend.

But while we emphasize this trend in the direction of a more militant, independent position of labor in opposition to Wall Street's program, it is equally important to note the existence of weaknesses that are characteristic of the entire labor movement. No matter what their affiliation, the inability of the majority of the workers in the C.I.O., A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhoods to see the real nature of the "aid to Britain" and so-called defense program, and the fact that labor still remains a victim of the two-party system and is unprepared to break from the two war parties and establish a new party, constitute the principal reasons why labor does not move more rapidly and effectively in the direction it wants to pursue, and why, despite its opposition to war, it has been unable to defeat those measures that step by step have taken us into the war

However, while noting the confusion that exists to a greater or lesser degree among the majority of the workers, no matter with what trade union center they are affiliated, it is necessary to differentiate between the confusion of the workers and the policies of the Social-Democrats. The passive acceptance by sections of the workers of "aid to Britain," on the basis of fake promises that this will not lead to war and that it is necessary for the defense of democracy, is one matter—the endorsement of this policy by Hillman, Green and Company, who know full well that it is a war policy, is an entirely different matter.

Indeed, the activity and influence of these Social-Democratic agents of the warmakers are the principal reasons why the masses have not moved more rapidly and developed a more effective struggle against the war program. It is impossible to exaggerate the danger of these forces

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to the labor movement and the importance of exposing and driving them out of the ranks of the working class. For while their mass base is narrowing among the workers, they use their support among the workers to divide labor's ranks. As a result, not only their own immediate followers, but the entire working class, become victims of the Wall Street war policies.

It cannot be said, of course, that the section of workers representing the mass base of these Social-Democrats has been won for enthusiastic and active support of Wall Street's war program. On the contrary, the ability of these Social-Democrats to disrupt and divide labor arises out of the fact that, through undemocratic measures, the agents of the warmongers have been able to suppress the real sentiments of their membership and to further their program through a combination of terror and demagogy, exploiting existing illusions, especially in regard to Roosevelt. But it would be a major error to fail to recognize the role of the Social-Democrats—the Hillmans, Greens and Harrisons—in helping the bosses cloak their program of war abroad and at home, as one of the decisive features of the present situation.

To work out the correct tactics that will enable the working class to develop a higher degree of class consciousness and clarity as rapidly as possible and to unite its ranks around a class program of struggle against the imperialist war program of the bourgeoisie, it is necessary to take into account the various tendencies in the ranks of the workers as they move in the direction of a more active and militant defense of their interests.

* * *

First, there is that section of the workers which reflects the most confusion, but which at the same time shows a definite trend in the direction of a militant anti-war position. These workers passively accept red-baiting resolutions, anti-Soviet incitements, and unlimited praise of Roosevelt as labor's saviour and the defender of democracy. This wing is representative of a considerable section of the workers, but is by no means characteristic of the majority.

The confusion prevalent in this group contains serious elements of danger. One cannot endorse aid to Britain and red-baiting and at the same time wage an effective fight for higher wages and the right to strike. This merely provides the anti-union forces with possibilities of dividing and disrupting the labor movement. Therefore the problem of educating all such workers to understand that you cannot win higher wages if the employers are able to divide labor on the issue of Communism; that you cannot maintain the right to strike and at the same time permit the employers to deprive the Communist Party of its legal rights; that you cannot keep the country out of the war and at the same time support the aid-to-Britain policy, which in reality is a war policy—this is one of the burning questions before all progressive forces.

The positive aspect of this trend, however, is to be found in its *active* support of a program to defend the

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right to strike, to improve wages and living standards, and to oppose entry into the war, while expressing increasing dissatisfaction with mere lip service to such a program. Every day these workers tend to fight more *actively and effectively* for part of this program, while more or less content to have the other part remain on paper. That is why none of the various "Aid to Britain" Committees have succeeded in securing any labor representation reflective of active support of local unions and their memberships.

The more the advanced sections of the labor movement join with these workers in their efforts to strengthen their unions and advance their fight for improved conditions, the more rapidly will these workers abandon their illusions and achieve greater clarity, thereby strengthening the entire labor movement. In the course of this advance, the leaders of these workers will either move with the masses or lose whatever mass base they now have.

* * *

A second group of workers is distinguished from the first by its greater clarity and, consequently, by a more clear-cut and militant policy on many questions, on the part of both the rank and file and the leaders. Despite all the talk of "sacrifice, defense and national unity," this progressive section has maintained an uncompromising stand on wages, working conditions, organization of the unorganized, and the right to strike. In fact, it not only has had a clear-cut policy on these question but, by and large, it has sought to apply these policies, with results that were of tremendous importance. In addition, although this progressive tendency has not denounced Roosevelt's program as a whole and as a war program, it has nevertheless taken an advanced position, characterizing the war as an imperialist war, registering opposition to America's entry, and on certain specific measures offering most effective opposition to policies of the Administration. Its stand against Negro discrimination is of especial importance. Furthermore, it is important to note that this progressive tendency, in so far as it is expressed in programmatic form, has never expressed endorsement of "aid to Britain" policy.

A basic weakness of this section has been that, while most militant and aggressive in expressing opposition to war and in opposing certain specific measures, it still hesitates to make a fundamental break with the war program of Roosevelt. Also, while it undoubtedly influences other sections of the population as a result of its forthright program and activities, it nevertheless does not actively undertake to organize the peace movement as a whole, tending to restrict its activities merely to labor. In the political field, this section of the labor movement has given great impetus to the movement for independent poliitcal action, toward greater political consciousness on the part of the labor movement. Nevertheless, while advocating the need for labor to act as an independent force, most sections of this group still attempt to cooperate with sections of the bourgeoisie. They have not yet reached

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the stage at which they understand and advocate the need for a complete break with the two war parties of Wall Street and for the formation of a new party, a party of labor and the people, an anti-imperialist party. On the Soviet Union, they have followed a policy of at least saying nothing harmful if they could not say anything favorable. The weakness of this negative and basically inadequate position was revealed when forces identified with this group permitted the adoption of a resolution lumping Communism with fascism at the C.I.O. Convention. The fact that since then some forces who were a party to this mistake have been active in correcting it, and that others at least have not joined the Hillmanites in trying to initiate a "red purge" would indicate that this bitter lesson has not been lost.

However, it is precisely these weaknesses and mistakes in combatting red-baiting and in meeting attempts to lump Communism with fascism that create openings for Social-Democracy to foster illusions, sow disruption, and prevent the working class from pursuing an independent course. These weaknesses serve as a source of strength for Social-Democracy. Without an effective struggle against Social-Democracy and its policies of class collaboration and support to the imperialist war, it is impossible to unite the working class in defense of its interests. And yet the failure of the progressives to meet such issues fully and squarely only plays into the hands of these Social-Democrats, who do not hesitate to resort to red-baiting as a means of breaking up movements and struggles on important issues that promise to strengthen labor's independence and to expose and isolate the treacherous agents of the employers.

This second group is of great importance, not because it is the most advanced or has the most effective program, but because it has the program that, at the present time, is acceptable to the greatest number of workers. This program is the instrument for reaching and drawing into struggle sections of the labor movement whose understanding on many questions still lags behind. This program also includes among its supporters important sections of the working class who have a more advanced understanding but who also recognize the vital necessity of maintaining unity of all forces on the basis of the progressive measures that have the support of the widest numbers. This viewpoint has found most effective expression in the decisions of the last C.I.O. Convention; but it would be a mistake to say that this tendency is confined only to the C.I.O., or that the C.I.O. membership as a whole fully understands the C.I.O.'s policies and knows how to compel their application. Certainly, the anti-C.I.O. policies of Hillman and the forces he represents are proof of this. Likewise, the actions of many A. F. of L. unions show that they are closer to the position of the C.I.O. than that of the A. F. of L. Executive Council.

* * *

A third section of the labor movement consists of the best supporters of, and most effective fighters for,

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those progressive policies already supported by a majority of the labor movement. The attitude of this advanced wing is identical with that progressive tendency we have just discussed on such questions as defense of living standards, organization of the unorganized, the right to strike, and opposition to America's involvement in the war. It advances beyond this second group by taking a clear-cut position in favor of a new party. Likewise, where the broader group takes a progressive stand, presses opposition to the war, and actively opposes some of the specific war measures, this section tends to take a more clear-cut and advanced position on the whole question of the real meaning of Aid to Britain and the so-called defense program. Where the larger section of the labor movement tends to limit its activities solely to the trade union movement, this latter section tends to help actively organize the people around labor in the struggle to keep out of the war. Finally, this section tends in the main, though not on all occasions with the needed alertness, to meet all forms of red-baiting more squarely and effectively.

This section of the working class exerts great influence because it has many things in common with other progressive sections and the ability to collaborate with the great majority where possible. At the same time it is able to maintain and strengthen its own independent viewpoint.

The important role played by this section of the working class was best expressed in the last elections. They gave wholehearted approval to the bold, courageous action of Lewis in denouncing Roosevelt's program as a war program. They could not, however, support Willkie and therefore maintained an independent position, endorsing neither Roosevelt nor Willkie. Furthermore, they refused to give aid and comfort to those who wanted to use the mistake in endorsing Willkie in order to smash the unity of the progressive labor forces and stampede labor into the camp of Roosevelt.

The full force of the clarity and influence of this section of the labor movement is often lost because it does not or cannot always find expression. An example of this is the resolution adopted at the C.I.O. Convention. No one can deny that large sections of the membership of the C.I.O. did not and do not support this red-baiting resolution, notwithstanding the fact that on the floor of the convention not a voice was raised in protest.

Another example is the struggle for peace. It is extremely important to note that larger sections of the trade union movement are participating in the activities of the American Peace Mobilization today than ever participated in the past in a people's peace movement. This is best seen in the large number of delegates from local trade unions at the recent April 6 peace meeting. Nevertheless, while many leading officials of trade unions participated, some important labor officials identified with those unions that had large mass delegations from their locals did not actively participate. Likewise, it is important to note

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that, in many trade unions, the local unions take a more clear-cut stand against red-baiting than is reflected by some progressive labor leaders.

Finally, it is worthy of note that local trade union organizations are more quick to see that the attack against the rights of the Communist Party is an attack against all labor. Accordingly, they are alert to the need for the local union to speak out against such attacks. For instance, a number of local trade union organizations have protested against the conviction of Earl Browder, but similar action has not taken place upon a national scale. In the case of many trade union forces and national officials there is a clear understanding as to the issue involved and sympathy for the Communists, but it does not find expression nationally. The fact that, up to the present, these progressives have been unable to give national expression to the defense of the political rights of labor and the people by taking a stand in support of the rights of the Communist Party constitutes one of the major weaknesses of the whole labor movement *and especially of its more advanced section.* This is particularly emphasized in view of the fact that in Mexico and in Cuba the entire organized labor movement has spoken out in condemnation of and protest against the conviction of Earl Browder.

Thus, while this wing of the progressive movement tends to have greater clarity and consequently greater consistency, its weaknesses represent a serious limitation. What is the meaning of these weaknesses? How can we explain the fact that upon some important questions this wing of the labor movement is unable to register its own policy or give expression to its own understanding except to a limited extent? How is it that we see greater initiative, clarity and activity on the part of local unions than we do, in some cases, on the part of leaders who are responsible for and have helped to establish this advanced position of important sections of the workers?

Does this mean that the level of understanding of the rank-and-file workers is more advanced than that of those trade union leaders who are identified with the progressive wing? By no means. *In most cases such progressive trade union leaders undoubtedly have far greater understanding of the problems facing the working class than the membership they represent and whose confidence they justly enjoy.* Often the reason is to be found in the fact that the personal understanding of the leaders is more advanced than that of the organizations they represent.

In some cases, to attempt to express as the viewpoint of the national organization an understanding that has as yet been achieved only by its leaders and by some locals would be wrong, and would tend to create unnecessary division in such national organizations and make more difficult the education and winning of the majority of the membership for a more correct and advanced viewpoint. This, undoubtedly, often accounts for the fact that, in some cases, there is not greater and quicker initiative upon the part of important trade union leaders who are and always have

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been considered as representatives of the advanced wing of the rank and file of the progressive forces.

In a very few cases progressive trade union leaders see only the backwardness of certain sections of the working class and do not appreciate sufficiently the possibilities for educating, for winning, this section of the working class for a more advanced viewpoint. At times there may be a tendency to underestimate the understanding of the rank and file and the rapidity with which they are learning from experience. Where such a tendency exists there are hesitancy and timidity in attempting to win the trade union membership for correct and clear-cut policies. Finally, these weaknesses undoubtedly can be accounted for in some cases by a failure always to see the problem as a whole in the practical work in the trade unions.

Progressive trade union leaders have the difficult problem of maintaining and strengthening the unity of their union on the basis of a progressive program that has the confidence of the overwhelming majority of the membership. This means that one must always take into account the more conservative or backward section of a given union and, in shaping policy, develop a policy for which this section can be won. But that is only half the story, and if that were all it would soon lead to the kind of "unity" and "peace" that could be easily achieved with Hillman and Green if one were prepared to accept their policy of supporting the pro-war, anti-labor program of Roosevelt-Willkie.

To maintain and to strengthen unity in the trade union movement, the viewpoint and understanding of the more conscious section of the labor movement, of the more advanced workers, must also be taken into account. This section of the workers is probably a minority in most unions. They cannot expect, and it would be wrong for them to attempt, to impose their viewpoint upon the majority. While this wing of the labor movement must at all times be prepared to support progressive policies, even though they consider these policies limited, nevertheless it cannot be expected to support policies which their own experience has already proved to be fundamentally wrong.

All past experiences show that the basis for the progress of the labor movement has been the activities, first of all, of the most class conscious, most devoted, most active forces of labor. It has been the activities of these forces which have been the means for initiating policies and program, of arousing and winning and uniting the great mass of the trade union membership to a greater understanding of their interests and tasks. Anyone who fails to see that strengthening the most advanced section of labor is a necessary precondition for advancing the whole labor movement is making a serious mistake and is beginning to sacrifice principle for false "peace" and unity. *Thus, progressive labor leaders best help promote the unity of the unions by advocating policies acceptable to the more advanced section and which the majority of other workers can be won to support.*

This third section of the organized

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working class, with all its shortcomings, has developed the greatest understanding and the most far-sighted and loyal leadership. Therein lies its importance. It is not the largest group, but it tends to represent ever greater sections of the workers. Instead of the workers in this group tending to move into one or the other of the aforementioned two categories, the trend is the opposite. While this section of the workers has a position distinct from that of the majority of the workers, there is nothing that brings them in opposition to the principal policies of other progressive sections. Consequently, collaboration and mutual confidence and respect are possible between these sections on the basis of already established policies. *Finally, Communist trade unionists are associated with this last section of the labor movement. It would, however, be no more correct to classify this as the "Communist" wing than it would be to classify the A. F. of L. or C. I. O. as being "Communistic" because Communists are members of both trade union centers. This section of the working class undoubtedly embraces hundreds of thousands of workers, the majority of whom are not Communists, and many of the active leaders who are identified with this section of the workers are neither members nor sympathizers of the Communist Party, although they refuse to allow red-baiting to disrupt the unity of labor.*

* * *

While in the present discussion we have spoken of three main tendencies in the labor movement today, it must be stated that there are no hard and fast organized lines dividing these groups. In fact, these tendencies do not reflect the existence of organized groupings in the labor movement, but they rather reflect the extent to which the working class, on the basis of its own experience, is arriving at a greater understanding of its problem. These tendencies exist in the C. I. O., A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhoods simultaneously, and they are to be found within every single union. One or another tendency may dominate in any given union, but all these tendencies exist in every union. Furthermore, these tendencies cannot be understood only in terms of groups of leaders. When these tendencies are understood first of all in terms of moods and movements among the workers, then we are better able to understand the role of various leaders who either take advantage of, or reflect, these moods and movements.

The trade union movement is now making advances in defending wages and living standards, and organizing the unorganized that are of historic importance.

Labor is still in the process of developing an anti-imperialist outlook and policy; nevertheless, the main sections tend to move in this direction, and an important section of the working class has already developed progressive policies on many important questions. For labor to continue to advance, and at a more rapid tempo, to a common program based on *class policies*, it is necessary first of all to maintain and strengthen the unity of those

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sections of the working class that are already supporting established progressive policies, and to win over all other sections of workers for support of these policies. Unity of all forces on this basis is the path toward unity of the working class, toward a united labor movement on the basis of a program defending the interests of the workers, of their organizations, by struggling against the war program of Wall Street and its government.

The advanced sections of the trade union movement can play a most important role in promoting this unity and making possible these advances. Hundreds of thousands of the most active, loyal and experienced trade unionists, men and women who have the confidence and respect of great sections of the workers, compose the advanced wing of the labor movement. They are a powerful force. They can be in the forefront, helping organized labor advance to more effective policies by constantly seeking to establish firmer cooperation with their friends and allies, thus cementing the unity of all progressive forces, while at the same time criticizing in a friendly manner the limitations of existing progressive policies, opposing reactionary pro-war policies, and exposing the agents of Wall Street in the ranks of labor.

Communist trade unionists, as part of these progressive forces, have even greater responsibilities and opportunities. Labor is learning by experience—and the greatest weapon it has is Marxism-Leninism, which is based on the entire history of the labor movement. By mastering the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, learning how to apply them to the solution of the problems of our own labor movement, Communist trade unionists can help the entire working class more rapidly and easily to solve its problems. It is their special job, not only to help meet immediate problems, but on the basis of the experiences of labor to educate the workers to understand the class nature of society, to think as a class, to act as a class, and to make the workers conscious of their strength and of their role as the leader of all progressive people, and of the need of the working class to build and defend the Party of its class—the Communist Party. It is their responsibility to the working people of America to help win the freedom of Earl Browder.

Those tens of thousands of men and women of the labor movement who are members of the Communist Party are linked with their class by unbreakable bonds, and their confidence in the American working class is increased by the glorious achievements of the victorious working class in the land of socialism. These men and women are inspired by the contributions and activities of such outstanding labor leaders as William Z. Foster, and on the basis of the leadership and teachings of Earl Browder are maturing into capable Bolsheviks and tribunes of the people. They will prove more than worthy of their responsibilities, and that they are effective and loyal trade unionists, and able members of the Communist Party.

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MAY DAY, 1941, SPURS THE WORLD-WIDE FIGHT FOR A PEOPLE'S PEACE

BY F. RING

I

MAY DAY, 1941, day of struggle, coincides with the period when the embittered conflict for world supremacy, going on between two imperialist blocs, has reached new heights.

Every day the Moloch of this war engulfs huge mounds of sacrifices—in the Balkans, in Africa, London, in German, Belgian and French towns: soldiers, civilians, women and children. Heaps of ruins of tens of thousands of houses, factories, wharves and ships are piling up into a veritable Mount Everest of capitalist world destruction.

In an endeavor to maintain or establish their world supremacy, the rulers of both camps are compelling millions of people day in and day out to produce new means of destruction; day in and day out ships, airplanes and railways bring in thousands upon thousands of tons of weapons of destruction in order still further to increase destruction.

Ever new lands and peoples are being drawn into the death dance of this decaying world and no end is in sight. The European war has become the world war.

Neither of the two camps can offer the peoples a way out that will correspond to the interests of the masses of people and to the interests of peace.

Decades of Preparation

For decades the world bourgeoisie prepared this war. The British and French bourgeoisie laid the basis for it with their Versailles Treaty. With their Munich policy they pulled down the last barriers of peace. In their cynical efforts to drive their rivals in struggle for world supremacy into war against the land of socialism, they sacrificed entire peoples, like the Spanish, Czech and Slovak peoples, even before the big war broke out. When their plans came to naught, they did not hesitate to draw still further peoples into the bloody game in defense of their world supremacy and then to sacrifice them like pawns, as they did the Polish, Belgian, Norwegian, Dutch and other peoples.

No less planfully was this war prepared by German and Italian

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imperialisms, which carried through their frenzied armaments programs by plundering their own peoples. Also the bourgeoisie of the now occupied countries have their full share of guilt for the fate of these peoples. For they betrayed their national interests in order to maintain their own class rule and through their fault the country and people lost their national independence and fell under a foreign yoke. Now the top layers of the bourgeoisie, who are in the service of the forces of occupation, are helping to intensify the penal regime against their own people.

The Further War Drive

In those countries which are not yet engaged in war it is precisely the bourgeoisie who are driving their countries right into war, or who through their own people and through an anti-Soviet policy are playing with the independence of their country.

But even in countries which are waging a just war of liberation there are reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie which are helping stifle the struggle, as is the case with the Croatian group of Pavelich and company, who are selling themselves to the forces of occupation, or as is the case with those elements in China who orientate themselves on the London and New York Stock Exchanges, who want to turn their own country into an appendage of one of the imperialist groups.

As against this betrayal of the national interests of their own people by the capitalist cliques, the working class comes forward as the consistent representative and defender of the interests and the future of the nation.

This second May Day of the war, the day of the traditional review of the international proletariat, brings this out clearly.

Twenty months of this war have had far more profound effects on the conditions and outlook of the working class and on dozens of oppressed nations in all parts of the world than the corresponding period of the first imperialist war.

Conditions Worsened

There is no capitalist country where finance capital has not, in its mad hunt for war profits, considerably worsened the standard of living of the working people. In Europe there is not a single capitalist government that has not placed its people on starvation rations by introducing the rationing system for all important articles of food and general consumption. What is more, in entire countries such as France, Belgium and elsewhere veritable starvation already reigns. On top of all this are the horrors and sacrifices of "total" war, the glaring injustice of distribution of social burdens, speed-up of the ten- and twelve-hour and even lengthier working day, and in the occupied countries the burning sting of national abasement and humiliation.

All these things have led to a situation where since the first May Day of the war, May 1, 1940, tremendous changes have taken place inside the labor movement and among the masses of people.

The outstanding feature of the

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Day of Struggle in May, 1941, is the beginning of the united mobilization of the forces of the working class in the struggle against the imperialist war. To be sure, this process is only in its first stages, but it has already assumed quite real forms.

It is quite natural of course that in the mass struggle the foremost place is occupied by the defense of the working people's standard of living and the democratic rights trodden underfoot by the imperialists and that this defense has become the form of the present-day struggle against those who are responsible for the present mass slaughter, and for a real people's peace.

II

"Let the people have confidence in their strength. They alone can save themselves, their country and the world."

These words were contained in the manifesto published in connection with the People's Convention held in London in January. This congress arose from a tremendous popular movement.

"As distinct from the first imperialist war, the trust of the working masses in the bourgeoisie, in capitalism, has already at the beginning of the present war been considerably undermined and will continue increasingly to be undermined. . . . As the war goes on, the indignation of the masses will grow and the anti-war movement will become increasingly extensive."

These predictions, made by Dimitroff in his pamphlet *The War and the Working Class of the Capitalist Countries* * have completely come to pass.

In the shape of People's Congresses, the British and American working class came forward as leaders of wide sections of the people, as an independent force, appealing over the heads of their "own" bourgeoisie, both to their own peoples and to the masses of people on the other side of the trenches.

The Strike Movement

The supreme importance of this independent role which the working class is beginning to play in this war is shown by the strike movement. The British working class is waging a series of resolute wage struggles, despite hypocritical howls of the bourgeoisie about "defeatism" and "helping Hitler"; above all, the big apprentice strikes in the engineering industry in Scotland, Lancashire, etc. And in answer to the slander of the bourgeoisie, the May Day Manifesto of the British Communists gave the following neat reply:

"Driving down the living standards of the people and the destruction of their democratic rights does not strengthen their capacity to fight for their freedom and national resistance. On the contrary, it weakens it and prevents the organization of a real defense of the people against all enemies at home and abroad."

* Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1939. 2 cents.

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The Drive on May Day

It is with horror that the bourgeoisie of all lands mark the rallying of the masses for struggle against the imperialist war. The change in the outlook of the masses is even to be noted in the countries of the reactionary dictatorships. Out of the German and Italian press one fact stands out with ever-growing frequency, namely, the unwilling polemic against the expression of growing dissatisfaction in their own country.

The Turin newspaper *Il Popolo Dellalpi* of March 23, 1941, was compelled to publish "directives" for fascist agitators, indicating what answers should be given to such awkward statements as "this war should never have been begun," "Even after the victory has been won there won't be any change in the situation. . . ." "Greece ought never to have been invaded, . . ." etc.

The active solidarity of the German working class with the foreign workers and the prisoners of war, the listening in to foreign broadcasts in order to break the news monopoly of the ruling class—all these become mass phenomena in Germany.

This year also the bourgeoisie is again quite naturally attempting everywhere to deprive May Day of its fighting character and to transform it into a "Day of National Unity." With the help of the Social-Democratic leaders in Sweden it is being planned to organize joint demonstrations of workers' and bourgeois parties, including the extreme Right; in France the same bourgeoisie which for years on end boycotted May Day has suddenly discovered its "enthusiasm" for this day and has even declared it to be a state holiday so as thereby to avoid workers' demonstrations.

But these plans are doomed to failure. In Sweden these plans were shattered by the Social-Democratic workers themselves, whose trade unions have in recent months taken a sharp turn to the Left and have now decided by an overwhelming majority not to celebrate May Day this year, as last year, along the lines of political truce. The workers' organizations also decided that in those places where the official party leadership refuses to respect their wishes and joins hands with the bourgeoisie, as in Stockholm, they will keep away from these demonstrations.

The resistance of the French working class to the political truce policy pursued by the "Socialists" —of the type of Spinasse, Belin, Deat, etc., is growing stronger. Neither social demagogy nor brutal terror are in a position to smash the illegal mass movement, shatter the underground organizations or prevent the publication of the illegal revolutionary press.

III

With the onslaught on Yugoslavia and Greece, no less than fourteen European countries have become victims of occupation, as against five last year. Well over 100,000,000 people are living under daily, and severe, foreign domination.

The attacked peoples, like the Yugoslav and the Greek peoples,

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are waging a valiant and just war of liberation. The spontaneous mass movement in Yugoslavia and the solidarity of the great socialist country, manifested in the friendship pact between Yugoslavia and the U.S.S.R., unleashed a powerful solidarity movement throughout the world and, above all, gave a strong impulse to the national movement of liberation of many other peoples.

This is reflected in the columns of the Czech press—"unified" by the occupation forces—in the so-called "protectorate," which admits that the Czech people "openly rejoiced" at the upsurge of the people of Yugoslavia.

Mass resistance is making itself more and more strongly felt in all occupied countries. The masses of people in Norway, despite martial law, death sentences and a regime of terror, have resorted over and over again to open demonstrations. In Holland, where as the result of brutal persecution of Jews in Amsterdam matters developed to the point of clashes between the indignant population and the German police and troops, general strikes took place in Amsterdam, Hilversum and Zandaam.

In Slovakia, in view of the demoralization of a number of its own shock troops, the "Hlinka Guards," the puppet Tuka Government was compelled to disband entire units (the Academic Guard).

In Bulgaria, in the very first days after the entry of German troops, illegal leaflets published by the Workers Party informed the population of its viewpoint on the capitulation of the bourgeoisie.

This May Day the hearts of the world proletariat beat in unison with all these peoples, and on this occasion, with no less but with greater ardor for the heroic struggle of the Chinese people. A strong and independent China can arise only by securing a united resistance to world imperialism by the entire Chinese people and by driving all traitors out of their leadership. It is for such a China that the international working class, unswerving and true friends of the Chinese people, demonstrate on May Day.

Imprisoned Leaders

May Day will be celebrated to a greater extent than hitherto in colonial and dependent countries. Recent months have witnessed a considerable revival and strengthening of the struggle of these peoples. This movement is also developing under the slogan of action for the liberation of the "Knight of Hope," the Brazilian people's hero, Luis Carlos Prestes, whose personality is the symbol of the liberation struggle of all dependent and colonial peoples.

Prestes is like Earl Browder—recently imprisoned leader of the American working people—a hostage in the hands of the bourgeoisie. In this they follow the example of the German bourgeoisie, who hold in their jails Ernst Thaelmann and Anton Zapotocky, the Czech trade union leader, just as the French bourgeoisie hold in their clutches Semard, Billoux, Bonte and other outstanding leaders of the French working class.

Here we get the clearest expres-

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sion of the common class interests, the common class hatred of the bourgeoisie of both warring camps, their permanent point of contact, namely the struggle against their own peoples. Nothing can more aptly refute the lie that Communists are in the service of one of these warring camps.

The keynote of this day is the international solidarity movement for all these noblest sons of the people, who lie in dungeons of the international bourgeoisie, the struggle for their liberation and for rescuing the Spanish refugees and the men of the International Brigades from the French concentration camps.

In this powerful struggle of the world proletariat and of the oppressed peoples against the imperialist machine of war and oppression, the reactionary leaders of the Second International always stand with raised daggers behind the backs of those engaged in struggle. Having long become incapable of conducting an independent policy, they are everywhere actively helping to establish anti-people's regimes of dictatorship. Even where they speak as émigrés, like Stampfer and Huysman, they come forward for the war program of the imperialists, for the extension of the war. The chairman of the Second International, Huysman, has openly expressed his regret that the Versailles Peace was too "mild" for the German people and has declared himself in favor of a new Versailles, a super-Versailles.

The stench of decay fills the entire disorganized decaying structure of the Second International. If the working class wants to fulfil its great historic task it must rid itself once and for all of the influence and tutelage of the Social-Democratic traitors. Never was it so clear that in the severe struggles that lie ahead the working class must only seek guidance from and rally round one party, the Communist Party, which from the outset of this war held aloft the glorious banner of international Socialism, and has everywhere fought on the side of the masses of people, on the side of all suffering and oppressed peoples.

In many countries still wider masses will rally round the Communist Party on this day. In other countries, where it will not be possible for workers' banners to be borne in the streets and where illegal fighters work under the most difficult conditions, their slogans will reach the masses in spite of all. In all these different countries, however, stirring in the hearts of all the oppressed on this second May Day of the war will be the banner—the red banner—of the first workers' and peasants' state in the world, whose peace policy and whose stand on behalf of all oppressed peoples gives them all hope and strength.

Everywhere the masses of people will feel themselves at one with the peoples of the Soviet Union, who on May Day will demonstrate in their millions for this peace policy, for the brotherhood of all peoples on the basis of equality and the guarantee of national freedom, for the strengthening of the eco-

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nomic and military might of their socialist fatherland. The masses of people of all countries will feel themselves at one with the peoples of the Soviet Union, conscious that the strengthening of the position of the U.S.S.R. means equally the strengthening of the positions of the world proletariat.

The decisive task facing the working class of all capitalist countries and colonies is to link the working people of town and country in a real people's front for the struggle for the speedy ending of the war and the establishment of a peoples' peace.

Such a peoples' peace has nothing in common with an imperialist peace which is based on the enslavement of peoples and countries and is only the source of a new war. Such a peoples' peace is one based on guaranteeing the national liberties of each people, on the fraternal cooperation between peoples. This aim can only be fulfilled by the working class assuming the position of leadership and independent activity.

The working class will therefore lead into battle the widest masses of people for their immediate vital interests, for placing the burdens of war on the rich, against political reaction and for democratic and popular liberties.

On this second May Day of the war, the toiling masses make the clear and definite declaration that the present world war of devastation was the accursed work of the imperialists. A peoples' peace must be the liberating and beneficent work of the working class and the peoples.

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THE ORIGINS OF MAY DAY

A DOCUMENTARY SURVEY

BY HERBERT BIEL

MAY DAY[1] as a day when the workers demonstrate their class solidarity and proletarian internationalism has its origins in their efforts to achieve a shorter working day, particularly their struggles for the eight-hour day. To the birth of this day of worldwide workers' solidarity the American working class made a major contribution. To understand the origins of this workers' day we must therefore trace the history of the battle for an eight-hour day.

As may be expected, this movement began in Great Britain where, as early as 1817, the Utopian Socialist Robert Owen put forward the idea of an eight-hour day, and from 1824 on occasional references to the same aim occur in trade-union circles.[2] During the next decade labor's agitation for this demand increased in volume, under the leadership of Owen, J. Fielden, John Doherty and William Cobbett, and, for the first time in history, took on organizational form with the founding of a Society for Promoting National Regeneration. There is, too, record of at least one mass demonstration on behalf of the eight-hour day as early as April, 1834, in Oldham, which was dispersed by the authorities.[3]

As a rule, however, during the first half of the nineteenth century the workers' main demand, so far as the extent of the working day was concerned, envisaged one of ten or nine hours. In the United States, although the struggle for the shorter work-day manifested itself even before the nineteenth century, there appears to be no reference to the eight-hour day until 1842, at which time the ship carpenters and caulkers in the Charlestown, Massachusetts, Navy Yard gained such a day, as did the joiners in the same place eleven years later.[4]

In the revolutionary France of 1848 there appeared, for a short time, a demand on the part of the laborers for the eight-hour day, while the same cry resounded a few years later from Australia. In Melbourne was formed, in 1856, what appears to have been the first Eight Hour League, and a strike under its auspices succeeded, after a three weeks' struggle, in gaining the

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shortened day for workers in that city. The movement spread during the next few years throughout Australasia and was more successful there, in the early part of the nineteenth century, than anywhere else.[5]

The next significant expression of the eight-hour demand comes from the United States and was stimulated by one whose whole life was devoted to this enterprise, the Massachusetts machinist Ira Steward. The 1859 and 1860 conventions of his union, the International Union of Machinists and Blacksmiths, had gone on record as in favor of a shorter working day. The specific demand for eight hours was made by the union at its convention held in the Autumn of 1863 in Boston, with the delegate, Mr. Steward, proposing the resolution. At the same time the Boston Trades Assembly took a similar stand and both organizations appointed committees, with Steward as chairman and with a budget of eight hundred dollars, in order to start a propaganda and lobbying campaign for the reform.[6]

Across the Atlantic, quite independently, the same demand received an impetus when, in November, 1863, at Leeds, the National Association of Coal, Lime, and Ironstone Miners of Great Britain dedicated itself to the effort to achieve that end.[7]

This coincidence of international action kept recurring. Thus, in 1864 Ira Steward led in the formation of a Labor Reform Association whose main immediate object was the eight-hour day, and which resulted in the formation of numerous Eight-Hour Leagues. In Europe the first regular convention of the International Workingmen's Association (First International), led by Karl Marx, in the same year declared "the limitation of the work-day is the first step in the direction of the emancipation of the working class," and specified the same immediate aim as the American group.[8]

These progressive efforts had been, in part, stimulated by the crusade against chattel slavery that was raging at the moment. Its successful conclusion brought, in the words of Marx,[9] "a new and vigorous life" to the American labor movement and "sounded the tocsin for the European working class."

The year after Appomattox Baltimore was host to the first Congress of the National Labor Union. The seventy-seven delegates there assembled (three from two national unions, fifty from local unions, seventeen from trades assemblies, and seven from Eight-Hour Leagues[10]) declared on Aug. 16, 1866:[11]

"The first and great necessity of the present, to free the labor of this country from capitalistic slavery, is the passing of a law by which eight hours shall be the normal working day in all states of the American Union. We are resolved to put forth all our strength until this glorious result is attained."

Two weeks later, as Marx tells the story,

". . . the Geneva congress of the International Workingmen's Association, in conformity with a proposal made by the General Council, resolved that 'a limitation of the working day is a preliminary condi-

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tion without which all further attempts at improvement or emancipation must prove abortive. . . . The congress proposes eight hours as the legal limit of the working day.' "

The connection between this action and that taken in Baltimore was close, as is demonstrated by the fact that the resolution of the First International went on to say:

"As this limitation represents the general demand of the workers of the North-American United States, the Congress transforms this demand into the general platform of the workers of the world." [12]

During the following months agitation for the eight-hour day enveloped more and more workers. In 1867 the textile operators of Lancashire in England joined the movement,[13] but it had its greatest success, at this time, in the United States. There, in response to the pressure of local labor assemblies, trade unions and Eight-Hour Leagues, six states adopted eight-hour laws by 1867. The legislators, however, "forgot" to provide enforcement machinery, so that these acts are mainly significant in so far as they established a legal precedent, and mirrored growing popular demand.[14] Of somewhat more practical importance was the passage of a law by the Federal Government, in 1868, providing an eight-hour day for its employees. An attempt to wrest the fruits of this victory from the workers by introducing soon afterward a 20 per cent wage-cut was successfully resisted.[15] It is also to be observed that the British Trade Union Congress, meeting in Birmingham in 1869, unanimously adopted a resolution in support of the eight-hour day.[16]

The First International continued to hold aloft the aim of an eight-hour day in the continent of Europe throughout the 'sixties and until 1871 when the White Terror in France created a temporary recession. The International transferred its headquarters to New York in 1872 and carried with it its aims and purposes, so that the same year we find it actively participating in the agitation of the Eight-Hour Leagues. Indeed, in a parade of 20,000 workers of New York City in that year the flag of the International was prominently displayed. Some workers gained the eight-hour day within New York in 1872 as a result of this organized activity.[17]

The situation became serious enough, in the eyes of the bosses, for them to issue, in 1872, an *Address to the Intelligent Workmen of the United States, No. 1,* which opens with a show of amazement and more than a little consternation:[18] "You have been called upon under pressure of excitement *to demand* that EIGHT HOURS shall constitute *a day's* work, and that you shall receive the same wages for *eight* hours work as you have been accustomed to receive for *ten.*" This, all and sundry are assured, is absurd and impossible, ludicrous and disastrous, and will not and must not be granted. In private they commiserated one an-

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other that, in the choice words of one of their "standard" historians,[19] "They were suffering sufficiently now from inefficiency and drunkenness without allowing their men more time for dissipation."

The panic of 1873 wiped out much of the workers' gains, and the long depression that followed tended, for much of the period, to reduce the agitation for the eight-hour day.[20] This reasserted itself, however, during the last two years of the depression,[21] 1877-79, as an accompaniment to the tremendous—unprecedented up to that time—growth in the militance of the American laboring class.

Once more, it is interesting to note, the same years saw an important development in this fight across the Atlantic. For in 1878 at the Bristol Trade Union Congress Adam Weiler, an old member of the First International and a personal friend of Karl Marx, appealed[22] for official support by the congress of the eight-hour battle. This resolution failed of passage at the moment, but the bureaucrats in charge shortly were unable to defeat the will of the rank-and-file British workers in this regard.

The decade of the 'eighties witnesses the birth of May Day—a day dedicated by the workers of the world to proletarian internationalism as a necessary precondition for the triumph of socialism.

Within the United States a national committee consisting of Richard F. Trevellick, John G. Mills, Charles H. Litchman (Grand Secretary of the Knights of Labor), Dyer D. Lum and Albert Parsons was formed in 1880 to work for Congressional enactment of an eight-hour day. Though intense work was put into this effort, especially by Litchman and Parsons, the results were disappointing, and the committee seems to have functioned for but a brief time.[23]

At the British Trade Union Congress of 1883 Adam Weiler again introduced a resolution in support of united struggle, on both the political and economic fields, for an eight-hour day. This time his motion was overwhelmingly approved, though the "leadership" sabotaged the desire of the delegates by failing to actively push the fight.[24]

The immediately following years, however, formed a period of sharpened working class consciousness and organization throughout the world. Everywhere strikes became increasingly numerous and militant, new labor organizations arose, old ones expanded and were revitalized, and Marxism gathered an ever increasing number of followers.[25] An accentuation in the struggle for a shorter working day was an integral part of this general development.

A historic step was taken at the Chicago convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions (the predecessor of the American Federation of Labor) held in October, 1884. This organization, whose membership totaled less than 50,000, was, unlike the labor movement as a whole, retrogressing and, in order to infuse it with new life, a proposal was made by Gabriel Edmonston of the carpenters' brotherhood for it to take the lead in

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a nationwide campaign for the eight-hour day.

The convention adopted the idea in the form of a resolution which read: [26]

"Resolved, By the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886, and that we recommend to labor organizations throughout this jurisdiction that they so direct their laws as to conform to this resolution by the time named."

Success or failure of this move depended upon the response of the Knights of Labor. Though the officialdom of this organization, and particularly its leader, Terence V. Powderly, attempted to undermine the movement (Powderly advocating a letter-writing campaign to start Feb. 22, 1885, instead of a mass demonstration, and, when this failed, issuing a secret circular, March 13, 1886, advising against participation [27]) the rank-and-file membership of the Knights spontaneously took up the demand. It became a mighty organizing weapon for all labor groups and the response led to a reaffirmation in the 1885 convention of the Federation of the call for the May First demonstration in 1886. This was formally adhered to by the Knights of Labor, and had such tremendous appeal that it was an important factor in raising the membership of the latter organization to the astounding total of 700,000, an *eleven-fold increase within two years!* [28]

The militance and expansion of rank-and-file trade unionism were so great that several employers, particularly in Chicago where the radical segment was most numerous, granted the nine- or eight-hour day in March and April, 1886. On the fateful First of May itself strikes occurred in many major cities, including Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Washington, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Detroit. Altogether about 350,000 workers struck, and about half this number gained their demand. [29]

The employers' counter-offensive began immediately, the first major blast coming on May 4, 1886, with the Haymarket frame-up by which a group of the most advanced leaders of the Chicago labor movement was imprisoned and destroyed. Yet, within a year the workers had reformed their lines and were in a position actively to renew the struggle. At the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in St. Louis in December, 1888, it was decided to strike on May 1, 1890, for an eight-hour day. [30]

Across the Atlantic meanwhile workers' organizations also surged forward with leaders like Tom Mann coming to the fore, and new organizations as the (English) Knights of Labor, and the National Labor Federation springing into being. In 1886 the Social-Democratic Federation of Great Britain advanced the eight-hour slogan (though seriously weakening its force by confining the tactic to the economic field), and legislative efforts toward this end were shortly instituted in that country by miners' unions. [31]

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A prime indication of the resurgence of the European working class movement was the assembling in July, 1889, at Paris of proletarian leaders from many lands to form the founding congress of the Second International. Although the American Federation of Labor was not represented at this congress it did send word of its contemplated action for May 1, 1890.[32] As a result, a French delegate, Lavigne, introduced a resolution favoring an "international manifestation" for May First in support of the eight-hour day.[33]

Accordingly the Paris Congress resolved[34]

". . . to organize a great international demonstration, so that in all countries and in all cities on one appointed day the toiling masses *shall demand of the state authorities the legal reduction of the working day to eight hours*, as well as the carrying out of the other decisions of the Paris Congress.

"Since a similar demonstration has already been decided upon for May 1, 1890, by the American Federation of Labor at its Convention in St. Louis, December, 1888, *this day is accepted for the international demonstration.*

"The workers of the various countries must organize this demonstration according to conditions prevailing in each country."

Reactionary leaders in various countries attempted to extract the revolutionary content from this first international May Day. Thus, the 1889 convention of the American Federation of Labor decided that the May Day effort at obtaining the eight-hour day was to be undertaken by but one trade at a time. The carpenters were selected and were decidedly successful, winning the eight-hour day in 137 cities in 1890, and preparing the way for the same achievement by all building trades unions the next year in Chicago, St. Louis, Denver, Indianapolis and San Francisco.[35]

In Germany the Reichstag fraction of the Social-Democrats decided (against the urgings of Wilhelm Liebknecht) to oppose the May Day demonstration; while in England the leaders of the Social-Democratic Federation and of the Trade Union Congress managed to postpone it until the first Sunday in the month (May 4, thus killing the effect of a *strike*). In both countries, nevertheless, the workers followed the lead of the Paris Congress with vigor and heroism. In Germany the action of the workers was particularly effective in Hamburg. Here the bosses instituted a lock-out following the May Day parade, and the resulting conflict[36] "laid the basis for a unified trade union movement" in that city.

In England some workers marched on May First; but the vast majority —and a great number it was, some 250,000 in London—turned out on May 4. Of particular importance in organizing this outpouring of workers was Marx's daughter, Eleanor Aveling. The event was of major significance in the history of British labor, and made a profound impression upon one keenly interested spectator — Friedrich Engels. He watched the event from the roof of

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a freight-car and described it in full in the Vienna *Arbeiterzeitung* (May 23, 1890). On this day, said Engels,[37]

". . . the *English proletariat . . . again entered the movement of its class.* . . . On May 4, 1890, the English working class joined up in the great international army. . . . The grandchildren of the old Chartists are entering the line of battle."

Tens of thousands of workers demonstrated that May Day throughout the world—in Austria, Australia, Belgium, Chile, Cuba, Denmark, France, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Peru, Poland, Switzerland.[38] Wrote Engels:[39]

". . . the proletariat of Europe and America is holding a review of its forces; it is mobilized for the first time as One army, under One flag, and fighting One immediate aim: an eight-hour working day, established by legal enactment (as was demanded by the Geneva Congress of the International Workingmen's Association, and again by the International Socialist Congress held at Paris in 1889). The spectacle we are now witnessing will make the capitalists and landowners of all lands realize that today the proletarians of all lands are, in very truth, united. If only Marx were with me to see it with his own eyes!"

Thenceforward May Day has been a regular feature of the drive of the world's workers toward socialism. In a survey of the origins of this proletarian instrument and institution note must be taken of two further developments.

The broadening of May Day from a demonstration in favor of but a single immediate aim to one in favor of worldwide proletarian rule was expressed as early as 1893. At the Zurich Congress of the International that year this advance was made in a resolution which read:[40]

"The demonstration on May First for the eight-hour day must serve at the same time as a demonstration of the determined will of the working class to destroy class distinctions through social change and thus enter on the road, the only road leading to peace for all peoples, to international peace."

And finally is to be noted the fact that the first effective use of May Day for agitational purposes did not come to tsarist Russia until 1896. At that time a political prisoner in St. Petersburg, Lenin drew up a May Day manifesto in the name of the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Here Lenin refers to the efforts of other workers for the eight-hour day, and tells the Russian people that those workers "through relentless struggle and heavy sacrifice have won the right to take up collectively the affairs of labor."

The final paragraph of this historic document reads:[41]

"Comrades, if we fight unitedly and together, then the time is not far off when we too will be in a position openly to join the common struggle of the workers of all lands, without distinction of race or creed, against the capitalists of the whole world. *Our strong arm will rise and the chains of slavery will fall. The*

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toilers of Russia will arise and terror will strike the hearts of the capitalists and of all other enemies of the working class."

This appeal was followed by a strike of 30,000 textile workers in St. Petersburg, led by the League of Struggle, the chief demand being for a shorter work-day. It was this event which forced the tsarist government, in 1897, to enact a law limiting the working day to eleven and one-half hours—a step never before even seriously contemplated by that government.[42]

To summarize, one observes that there is an indissoluble link between the history of the workers' efforts for reducing the hours of their toil, and the origins of the Day of the Proletariat. Particularly prominent in these struggles were the American workers themselves, whose introduction of the militant May Day will always remain their glorious contribution to proletarian internationalism. It is clear, however, that the sources of strength were many and by no means confined to any one locality or nation. On the contrary, May Day's origin and the struggles that created it are international, with the workers of the entire world taking part. And while one immediate aim was most important in leading to the establishment of this day, the fundamental aim from the beginning was the assertion of the independence and solidarity of the working class, and a proud affirmation of its historic role to bring all men and women the ever-expanding day of peace, democracy and freedom—the era of socialism.

NOTES

[1] As far back as primitive society the season of Spring—of birth, growth and change—was celebrated, generally on May 1, as a People's Festival. Often the merrymaking had a serio-comic political content, the masses going through mock ceremonies of deposing the reigning lords and masters and replacing them with members of their own class, hailing serfs as nobles, and paying homage to some legendary people's hero, as, for example, Robin Hood in feudal England. See Robert Minor, "The Story of May Day," in *The Liberator* (1924), VII, pp. 5-8; and his "The Fighting May Day," in *The Workers Monthly* (1926), V, pp. 293-96.

[2] Sidney Webb and Harold Cox, *The Eight Hours Day* (London, 1891), p. 15.

[3] Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism* (London, N. Y., 1902), pp. 117, 136-37. In the early Middle Ages the normal working day had lasted eight hours.

[4] John R. Commons, et al., *History of Labor in the United States* (N. Y., 1926), II, p. 87. Just how the workers achieved these gains and how long they had pressed for them are not known.

[5] S. Webb and H. Cox, *op cit.*, pp. 13-38.

[6] J. Commons, *op. cit.*, II, p. 89; D. W. Douglas, "Ira Steward," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, pp. 1-2. Steward's demand for an eight-hour day was at the base of his "golden-law" theory of wages. He envisaged a socialist form of society. See cited works, and J. R. Commons, ed., *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, IX, pp. 24-33, 284-329; Selig Perlman, "Short Hours Movement" in *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, XIV, pp. 44-45.

[7] S. and B Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

[8] Norman Ware, *The Labor Movement in the United States 1860-1895* (N. Y., London, 1929), p. 5; R. Minor, in *The Liberator* (1924), VII, p. 6.

[9] The first quotation is from *Capital* (International Publishers, 1929), p. 309; the second is from Marx's preface to the first German edition of *Capital*, dated July 25, 1867, *ibid.*, p. 864.

[10] N. Ware, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[11] Karl Marx, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

[12] Alexander Trachtenberg, *The History of May Day* (International Pamphlets, No. 14), p. 7; *The Communist* (1930), IX, pp. 402-403.

[13] S. and B. Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

[14] Herbert Harris, *American Labor* (New Haven, 1939), pp. 66-67. In 1868, two years after its formation, the National Labor Union had 640,000 members.

[15] Richard T. Ely, *The Labor Movement in America* (London, 1890), pp. 70-73. The law was not, however, well enforced. J. Commons, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 107-109.

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[16] S. Webb and H. Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 58.

[18] This was "Issued by the Employers' Central Executive Committee, New York, June 27, 1872."

[19] Ellis P. Oberholtzer, *A History of the United States Since the Civil War* (N. Y., 1931), IV, p. 421.

[20] The Industrial Congress, however, in 1875 called for a united demonstration, July 4, 1876, for an eight-hour day. This seems to have had no discernible effect. The congress lasted from 1873 to 1875. See Henry David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair* (N. Y., 1936), p. 160.

[21] E. E. Cummins, *The Labor Problem in the United States* (N. Y., 1932), p. 66.

[22] S. and B. Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

[23] H. David, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

[24] S. and B. Webb, *op. cit.*, pp. 376-77.

[25] For the United States, see H. David, *op. cit.*, Chapter I; J. Commons, *op. cit.*, II, Chapter IX; A. Trachtenberg, in *The Communist* (1930), IX, p. 406; V. Smith, in *ibid.* (1931), X, p. 393; and the Fourth Annual Message of Grover Cleveland, Dec. 3, 1888; for Europe, see S. Webb and H. Cox, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-26, 64-65; Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels* (N. Y., 1936), pp. 272-76; *Correspondence of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels* (International Publishers, 1936), pp. 430-454; *History of the C.P.S.U.* (International Publishers, 1939), pp. 7-8.

[26] J. Commons, *op. cit.*, II, p. 376.

[27] *Ibid.*, II, p. 378; H. Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 80. This was done notwithstanding the fact that in 1884 the constitution of the Knights had been amended to declare that an aim of the order was "To shorten the hours of labor by a general refusal to work for more than eight hours."

[28] See Paul H. Douglas, "An Analysis of Strike Statistics, 1881-1921," in *Journal of the American Statistical Association* (1923), No. 143, p. 873. For a good summary see H. David, *op. cit.*, Chapter VII.

[29] E. E. Cummins, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67. By January, 1889, only about 15,000 workers actually retained the eight-hour day.

[30] J. Commons, *op. cit.*, II, p. 475.

[31] S. and B. Webb, *op. cit.*, pp. 377, 394; S. Webb and H. Cox, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-26.

[32] Gompers reports having sent a certain Hugh McGregor to the Paris congress with a letter asking for aid. He says of this letter that it "Seemed to me fraught with historic import." See Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor* (N. Y., 1925), I, pp. 296-98.

[33] Lewis Lorwin, *Labor and Internationalism* (N. Y., 1929), p. 71. It is very interesting to observe that the action of the Paris congress receives no mention from John R. Commons.

[34] A. Trachtenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[35] E. E. Cummins, *op. cit.*, p. 67. As a counterfoil the Kaiser called a conference on labor problems to meet during May, 1890, in Berlin. This was "To discuss what could be done by international legislation to improve the condition of the working class." The distinguished experts could only agree that Sunday should be a day of rest! The same year the French Chamber of Deputies appointed a committee to "study" the labor problem. S. Webb and H. Cox, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 60.

[36] S. Perlman, *op. cit.*, XIV, p. 46.

[37] Correspondence of Marx and Engels, *op. cit.*, pp. 468-69. See also G. Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

[38] Robert Minor, in *The Workers Monthly* (1926), V, pp. 293-96; F. E. Freeman, *May Day and the Shorter Working Week* (Wellington, N. Z., 1936), pp. 6-7.

[39] Preface to 4th German edition of *The Communist Manifesto*, dated May 1, 1890, in *The Communist Manifesto of K. Marx and F. Engels* (International, 1930), p. 268.

[40] A. Trachtenberg, in *The Communist* (1930), IX, p. 410. An attempt to substitute the words "social revolution" for "social change" was defeated.

[41] The document (2,000 copies were dispersed among the city's workers) is reprinted in *The Workers Monthly* (1926), V, pp. 291-92.

[42] *History of the C.P.S.U.*, p. 18.

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THE MOST IMPORTANT LESSONS OF THE PARIS COMMUNE

By B. SMERAL

SEVENTY years have passed since the working masses of Paris, for the first time in history, wrested power from the hands of the bourgeoisie by means of an armed uprising, drove the bourgeois ministers from the capital to Versailles, smashed the old state apparatus and started to build a state organization of a new type. The workers' government of Paris, known in history as the Paris Commune, lasted only seventy-two days (from March 18 to May 23, 1871). But it left to posterity a vast practical experience, later brilliantly utilized by Lenin and Stalin in preparing and realizing the October Revolution, and in organizing the Soviet state. The experience of the Paris Commune is not outdated even today, at the time of the second imperialist war.

The forces which brought about the revolutionary outbreak — the Paris Commune—had been gathering in France during twenty years of the reactionary regime of Napoleon III, and attained full maturity in the process of the liquidation of the Franco-Prussian war. From Dec. 2, 1851, until the defeat at Sedan on Sept. 4, 1870, France was under the yoke of Bonapartism. The Bonapartist regime was a regime of ruthless dictatorship disguised by fomenting national chauvinism, by high-sounding phrases about equality, liberty and the "great" revolution, by endless and empty promises to the broad strata of workers and peasants, by demagogy employed, not without a certain effect, particularly on the backward sections of the peasantry and even on some of the backward sections of the proletariat.

The big bourgeoisie readily submitted to the dictatorship of the adventurist "upstart," calmly reconciling itself to the abolition of the bourgeois-republican state system, to the restriction of the rights of parliament, to the rule of the militarists, the police and bureaucracy, and to the weakening of its own political role. This bourgeoisie was grateful to the "Emperor" for liberating it from the scare of the revolutionary year of 1848 by defeating all attempts of the working class to organize and carry on militant activity.

It derived satisfaction from the

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fact that by the restoration of "order" the Emperor had given it broad possibilities for enriching itself and for exploiting the workers and peasants. Marx frequently described Napoleon "le petit" as an adventurist, and his regime as the only possible form of government at a time "when the bourgeoisie had already lost, and the working class had not yet acquired the faculty of ruling the nation."* The twenty-year rule of Napoleon III in France, like the decade during which the Bismarck anti-Socialist law was in force in Germany (1879-1890), and the period of terrorist persecution of the working class movement in France after the defeat of the Paris Commune, shows how, in the course of time, a system which strives to halt by violence the iron wheel of history is doomed to deterioration and extinction.

By the middle 'sixties, the adventurist and dictatorial regime of Napoleon was considerably weakened by the activization of the mass movement. The stronger the offensive against the working class became, the higher rose the revolutionary temper of the masses. One of the causes for the declaration of the war of aggression against Prussia was, incidentally, Napoleon's attempt to prevent an explosion of these internal revolutionary forces. The results of the war, which lasted barely four months, were the catastrophic defeat of the French army and the fall of the monarchy. The lesson to be drawn from the period of Bonapartism, preceding the Paris Commune, is that the forces of the regime of reaction and violence, by which the bourgeoisie was saved after the revolution of 1848, must not be overestimated.

Another lesson to be drawn from it is that faith in the strength of the masses must not be lost even at a time when external violence over a number of years has made impossible the active manifestation of this strength. The regime of Napoleon III destroyed all the legal, militant organizations of the working class. Revolutionary groups of various trends could work only underground. Supporters of Karl Marx in the First International were brutally persecuted. But by the middle 'sixties the regime of violence and demagogy began to weaken. Labor conflicts in connection with the concrete, partial demands of the workers broke out in industry, and those who had previously followed Napoleon, weary of the constantly repeated promises, demanded that they be fulfilled.

A wave of strikes swept the country on Jan. 12, 1870. For the first time in seventeen years, 200,000 people flooded the streets of Paris in a protest demonstration during the funeral of the journalist Poiret, murdered in gangster fashion by the Emperor's brother. This revealed the tremendous force of dissatisfaction and indignation latent in the people. And as soon as the power of the adventurist Emperor collapsed (following the defeat at Sedan, Sept. 2, 1870), this seething lava of popular indignation spontaneously erupted and spread throughout the entire country.

* *The Civil War in France*, Karl Marx, International Publishers, New York, 1940, p. 59.

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On Sept. 4, 1870, the working masses of Paris thronged the streets of the capital, surrounded the main government buildings, the Imperial Palace, parliament and police headquarters. Every Parisian capable of bearing arms enlisted in the National Guard. Soon the workers were in the overwhelming majority in the National Guard, hitherto the basic armed force of the bourgeoisie.

Thus was the revolution of Sept. 4, 1870, carried through. "The Empire collapsed like a house of cards, and the Republic was again proclaimed."*

As soon as the armor of the nightmarish Napoleonic regime had been pierced, the workers' movement spontaneously found new organizational forms. Countless vigilance committees, clubs, political units of Socialists of all sects, were set up in all the districts of Paris; units led by workers sprang up in the battalions of the National Guard. Fiery orators from the ranks of the people, including women, addressed open air meetings and assemblies in halls and clubs.

The vigilance committees, founded upon the initiative of the masses, seized municipal buildings in various districts of the city and actually constituted themselves as dual organs of local power. A number of revolutionary papers started legal publication. But the workers of Paris, not united in a single revolutionary party, still lacked sufficient consciousness and resolution. A ministry of hypocritical bourgeois politicians came to power on the backs of the workers.

Further, the experience of the Paris Commune teaches the workers to exercise extreme caution and vigilance with regard to the bourgeoisie even when, during the period of the rising mass movement, it advances slogans of "liberalism" and "radicalism." In a period of great political upheavals following war, at a time of maturing revolutions, the bourgeoisie, irrespective of groupings, is always concerned first and foremost with the thought of how to operate and maneuver to prevent the people from coming to power, to see to it that the bourgeois state system is not destroyed. It plays for time by utilizing the liberals and radicals (and at present also the Social-Democrats) in order to save its capitalist system.

Such was the case in 1848, such was also the case on the eve of the Paris Commune. Bourgeois politicians, lawyers, deputies, generals, like Thiers, Trochu and Co., came to power on the backs of the proletarian fighters of the revolution, deceiving the masses with high-sounding, liberal and patriotic slogans in defense of liberty and the fatherland. But as soon as these bourgeois politicians seized power, their first thought was to wage a struggle, not against the foreign enemy, but against their own people.

The Thiers government feared the armed workers of Paris more than it did the German army. Its plan was to establish a "regency" and leave an open door for the restoration of the monarchy. What worried the newly formed "liberal" govern-

* Frederick Engels, Introduction to *The Civil War in France*, by Karl Marx, p. 13.

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ment of Thiers most was, not how to mobilize the masses in defense of the Fatherland, but how to reach an agreement with Bismarck as soon as possible, how to bring about capitulation in order to give itself a free hand to wage a war against its own working class. A few days later the government, which had been born out of the great demonstrations of the people and which had declared to the people that it would be a "government of national defense," revealed its true face as a "government of national betrayals."

Thiers began negotiations for capitulation with Bismarck, signed an ignominious armistice and later a peace treaty which gave Germany Alsace-Lorraine, 4,000,000,000 francs as military indemnity, and permitted the German army to reach the suburbs of Paris. Strengthening his position by this act, Thiers launched an offensive against the working class on March 18, 1871. Troops were sent into the streets of Paris with the order to disarm the workers and, above all, to seize the artillery of the National Guard. The Parisian workers answered this by an uprising. They took up arms, drove the government out of Paris and seized power. On March 26 a government power of a new type—the Paris Commune—was elected and, on March 28, proclaimed.

* * *

Analyzing the causes as to why the Commune was able to last only seventy-two days, and why it finally suffered defeat, Marx determined that the main cause for its fall was that the leadership of the uprising was not in the hands of a single, truly revolutionary, firm and monolithic party. From the military point of view the Commune committed a very grave mistake: it limited itself to the defense of Paris and did not launch an active offensive against Versailles: further, the Commune displayed excessive "magnanimity" in the battles against the counter-revolutionary troops of the Versailles Government, as well as in the measures taken against the internal "Versaillese," against the enemies of the people, traitors and spies who remained in Paris. The latter two weaknesses of the Commune are closely linked with the first and main weakness, *i.e.*, with the absence of a united, centralized leadership in the shape of a revolutionary party of the proletariat.

* * *

In the reign of Napoleon III there were three illegal groups in Paris connected with the First International, but ideologically they were also dominated by the influence of theories against which Marx had been waging a persistent struggle—petty-bourgeois Proudhonism and putschist Blanquism. In the numerous groups within the Central Committee of the National Guard, which sprang up like mushrooms after a rain following the fall of the Bonapartist regime, there were supporters of these two main trends, with their numerous shades and factions. There were comparatively few fully convinced and conscientious Marxist members of the First International in Paris at the time. Only eight of

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the eighty members of the Commune elected on March 26 were supporters of Marx. If, nevertheless, Marx was able to exert an important influence on the Commune, if the Commune in the main was moving in a correct direction, this was above all a result of the fact that the "class instinct" of the working people helped them to find the correct path.

Actually, however, the factional division of the Paris movement was a great obstacle in the way of centralized and speedy decisions and actions. In the committees and subcommittees, in the press, and in the government of the Commune itself, every question aroused prolonged discussion. Much time was taken up by debates, meetings and conferences which very frequently lasted far into the night. Petty-bourgeois anarchism and the non-proletarian particularism proved stronger than proletarian centralism. Petty-bourgeois traditions and habits frequently exerted a harmful influence on separate units of the National Guard, on the organs of the revolutionary tribunal, public security, etc.

The question of military discipline was one of the most important questions in the days of the Paris Commune. Its seriousness was inadequately understood by the revolutionaries in the days immediately following the election and proclamation of the Commune. The counter-revolution gained a number of military successes. The Revolution was in danger. In this situation the question of discipline became one of life and death. Revolutionary discipline had to be insured at all costs. With the existing level and political structure of the organs of the Commune, this was not an easy matter to achieve. The strict measures against the breakers of discipline were thwarted by considerations of false humaneness and false "democracy." The Revolution, surrounded as it was by superior enemy forces, paid dearly for this. In the debate in the sessions of the Commune on April 19 Cluseret came out against the Right Proudhonist Vermorel. Vermorel, "in the name of humaneness," opposed the taking of severe measures against offenders of discipline, since the "people who carried through the revolution of March 18," he argued, "have an aversion to blood." "Yes," Cluseret replied, "you have an aversion to blood. Splendid. But then our own blood will flow in streams! 'Humaneness' will have as its direct result the fact that the coward will be encouraged to stay at home and our situation, already difficult, will become simply unbearable."

Excessive magnanimity, which Marx considered a weakness of the Commune and one of the causes of its defeat, frequently manifested itself in a relaxation of *revolutionary vigilance*. After the government's flight to Versailles many counter-revolutionaries remained in Paris. When the government institutions were being occupied, the Commune was confronted with sabotage by officials, as was the case in Petrograd during the October Revolution. Communard Arnould describes the occupation of the Ministry of Home Affairs as follows:

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"When, together with Paschal Grousset, I entered the Ministry of Home Affairs, our only guides were the porter and floor-polisher, who, unable to give any other explanations, at least familiarized us with the layout of the building. It was therefore necessary to create everything anew from beginning to end, to organize everything, beginning with the records of deaths and births, down to the street-cleaning and lighting departments."

On the fourth day after the capture of power by the people, on March 22, the counter-revolutionaries attempted to come out in an armed demonstration. Lagoupe, the first Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard, turned traitor, declaring officially that he refused to disperse demonstrations hostile to the Commune. Despite these warnings, corresponding measures against the centers of the counter-revolutionaries were not taken; bourgeois newspapers were able to appear until almost May 21, when the Versaillese entered Paris. Control over entrance to the city, over the railways and incoming and outgoing trains was insufficient. A special bureau for the organization of espionage, diversion and plots against the Commune was established in Versailles. The foreign missions were nests of espionage. "Diplomatic couriers," daily cruising between Paris and Versailles, acted as informers. The counter-revolutionaries forged passes, documents, and formed their own nuclei and armed groups. In this field the corresponding organs of the Commune worked with insufficient skill and energy; they lacked experience and underestimated the danger. Identification cards were introduced only in the middle of May, and even then passes and documents were issued freely.

* * *

But the weaknesses of the Commune were overcome by the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, which resulted in exceptional heroism. In this respect the Commune affords countless examples for those who are called upon at present to fight for the sacred cause of the working class. The glory of the heroic crew of the gunboat *Estoc,* who on May 12, when the boat was sunk by the Versaillese, met their death crying "Long live the Commune!" will never fade from the memory of the workers. The conduct of the brothers Ernst and Felix Dudon, 14 and 17 years old respectively, who, on May 14, held out in the park of Issy under a hail of bullets from the Versaillese fired from a range of ten meters, and later, together with their comrades in the detachment, took the barricade, serves as an example for revolutionary fighters to our day. The younger died during a bayonet attack, and the older fell while defending the banner and attempting to carry off the body of his brother. "Father does not cry, but has taken up arms to avenge the death of his sons," wrote their sister, in a letter informing relatives of the death of her brothers.

The uprising of the Paris proletariat was crushed. The counter-revolutionary hangmen wreaked

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brutal vengeance on the heroes of the working class. "The Communards must be rounded up and none of them must be regarded as political criminals, but as bandits,"—with this order of Thiers the counter-revolutionary bands attacked the vanquished. In his memoirs Maxime Vuillaume, a contemporary of the Commune, wrote:

"Executions took place everywhere—in alleys, in the passages between houses, at construction sites, wherever a wall could be found against which to shoot the prisoner. . . . After dinner the fashionable public came out to look at the scenes of execution. Fashionably dressed women accompanied their husbands to see the executions as if they were going to the theatre to see a play. Six courts-martial operated in the small territory of the Latin Quarter. The main slaughter grounds were the Luxembourg gardens, where 1,100 workers were killed."

Thirty thousand were shot, and 38,000 thrown into prisons or exiled to colonies notorious for their health-destroying climate. Among the arrested were over 1,000 women and 650 children. But this, too, is a great lesson of the Paris Commune, never to be forgotten by the working class.

Lenin thus estimated the historic significance and lessons of the Paris Commune:

"But with all its errors, the Commune is the greatest example of the greatest proletarian movement of the nineteenth century. . . . Great as were the sacrifices of the Commune, they are redeemed by its importance for the general proletarian struggle: it stirred up the Socialist movement throughout Europe, it demonstrated the value of civil war, it dispersed patriotic illusions and shattered the naive faith in the common national aspirations of the bourgeoisie. The Commune has taught the European proletariat to deal concretely with the problems of the socialist revolution.

"The lesson taught the proletariat will not be forgotten." (V. I. Lenin, *The Paris Commune*. International Publishers, Little Lenin Library, No. 5, p. 21.)

And the proletariat has not forgotten these lessons: the Great October Revolution, the foundation of the Soviet Union and its gigantic development in these past twenty-three years, represent the greatest victory of the immortal ideas of the Paris Commune.

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THE MEXICAN PEOPLE MUST NOT ENTER THIS WAR!

MANIFESTO OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF MEXICO, MEXICO CITY, MARCH 10, 1941.

ONCE again the Communist Party of Mexico addresses itself to the people, especially to the workers and peasants of our Fatherland, to point out the extremely grave dangers with which it is threatened by the actions of those who are trying to drag it into the war.

The Imperialist Character of the War

The present war, it must be reiterated time and time again, is the armed clash of two groups of equally imperialistic powers, which are fighting for the right to dominate and exploit the world. While the totalitarian powers wish to enlarge their colonial empires by snatching away from their rivals their domination over the backward peoples, the so-called "democratic" powers are trying to maintain their vast colonial empires and their sway over the markets which they conquered through predatory wars and the subjugation of free peoples.

This truth has been revealed by the most representative men of the nation. In this regard we must recall the following words of the great defender of the national interests, General Lázaro Cárdenas, who, while President of the Republic, said:

"In the supreme hour which these far-reaching times indicate for the country, faced with *the outbreak of an international conflict in which imperialist interests and unscrupulous ambitions* are debated, it is necessary to reiterate once again our social creed, condemning war as an absurd instrument for the solution of difficulties which arise between nations."

Interpreting the feelings of the Mexican proletariat and of all the toiling masses of country and city, the report read at the recently held National Congress of the Confederación Trabajadores Mexicana* characterized this war as unpopular and inhuman, and as completely alien to the interests of the peoples.

A War Alien to the Interests of the Peoples

In such a war, absolutely alien to the interests of the people of

* Mexican Confederation of Labor (C.T.M.).

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Mexico, there is no reason for linking our Fatherland to either of the imperialist camps. Our country's status is the product of a long and painful struggle directed toward the destruction of feudalism and toward national liberation from the yoke of foreign capitalism. The Mexican revolution is part of the struggle of all oppressed peoples on earth to shake off imperialist domination and has nothing in common with the interests of Yankee imperialism or with the interests of Hitlerian imperialism; for, whichever group of imperialists is victorious in this war, the chains of slavery and exploitation of weaker nations will be fastened more tightly.

We know how powerful are the forces confronting weaker nations that wish to maintain their independence and neutrality in this struggle between exploiters. But there is a great difference between a dignified attitude of resistance to such foreign pressure and the attitude of surrender adopted by the Secretary of Foreign Relations, Padilla.

The People of Mexico Distrust the Statements Made by the Secretary of Foreign Relations

For this reason, the Mexican people have received with marked and justified distrust the statements made in the Senate. Notwithstanding what is said in the Senate regarding the aims pursued by the North American rulers in this war, such declarations are nothing more than treacherous lies to lull the Mexican people into slumber and to crush the resistance of the rest of the Latin American nations.

The purpose is clear; instead of a bulwark in the struggle against the Colossus of the North, which would, with an aroused attitude of independnce, serve as an example to the entire continent, they would have Mexico become a base of operations for Wall Street, to coerce all the nations of the continent and to smash their aspirations for liberty. That is the truth, and that is why it is necessary to refute the statements made by Attorney Padilla in the Senate, with which he tried to justify a war policy serving the ruling classes of the United States.

Obligations Incurred With the United States

It is asserted that the basis of the obligations incurred by Mexico has been "the reorganization of continental peace, the coordination of neutrality, the defense against doctrines adverse to democracy and to the spirit of Pan-Americanism, and mutual assistance for continental defense."

Is there anyone who can maintain that continental peace is to be "reorganized" by hurling all the nations of the continent into the imperialist slaughter? The people of Mexico will never accept this lie.

What neutrality can be coordinated if the Secretary of Foreign Relations himself declares angrily that "neutrality is a word we must not listen to at this time"? This is an-

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other lie that the Mexican people reject indignantly.

Lies About Democracy

"Defense against doctrines that are adverse to democracy and to the spirit of Pan-Americanism." Which "democracy" are we to defend, Mr. Secretary of Foreign Relations? The "democracy" which rules in Brazil? Or that which is presided over by the Ubidos, the Maximilian Martinezes and the Tiburcio Cáriases in Central America? The more they speak of the defense of democracy, the more brutal the wave of capitalist reaction which sweeps over the continent, felt in their very flesh and bones by the workers and peasants of Mexico. The more our Secretary of Foreign Relations speaks about human liberties, the graver are the threats which are directed against the working class, against civil liberties, against the Communists!

The very ones who yesterday contributed to the crushing of the Spanish democratic republic today appear as champions of "anti-fascism"!

And those who gave all their efforts, who risked their lives and gave up their comforts in the struggle against fascism in the Spanish war, today rot in the jails and concentration camps of "democracy." The members of the International Brigades and other political refugees, genuine anti-fascists, no longer have the right to come to this hemisphere which is, according to Attorney Padilla, "a world of brotherhood and justice."

Pan-Americanism Means Colonization of Latin America

And what is meant by the Pan-American spirit? It is but an empty phrase by which is concealed a truth that cannot be destroyed by the eloquence of any propagandist for war and imperialism. This truth is the colonization of Latin America by Yankee imperialism, displacing the rival imperialisms which dispute with it for the control of its natural wealth, of its very extensive markets, of its cheap labor, and of its strategic bases. The history of Latin America is the history of the struggle of the rival imperialist powers to gain hegemony over all of its territory.

Mexico, 1847; "independence" of Panama; war with Spain "to aid Cuba"; the war of Chaco, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, etc. —these are some outstanding examples in this shameful history! Behind the trashy rhetoric one discovers the crude truth. A short time ago public opinion was shaken by the relevations concerning Almazán. In this cynical document is revealed the "respect" which our sovereignty owes some of the rulers of the United States. Their shameless intrusion into our internal affairs is evident.

The Real Aims of Yankee Imperialism

While in Mexico the people are lulled to sleep with lyrical speeches, in the United States the real war aims of Yankee imperialism are disclosed. Virgil Jordan, president of

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the National Industrial Conference Board, in a speech before the Investment Bankers Association, speaking of the war with brutal frankness, without phrases like "Pan-American spirit" and "the struggle for human liberties," declared:

"In peace time it is the accepted custom and normal manners of modern government to conceal all important facts from the public, or to lie about them; in war it is a political vice which becomes a public necessity. . . . Whatever the outcome of the war, *America has embarked upon a career of imperialism,* both in world affairs and in every other aspect of life, with all the opportunities, responsibilities and perils which that implies. . . . Even though, by our aid, England should emerge from this struggle without defeat, she will be so impoverished economically and crippled in prestige that it is improbable she will be able to resume or maintain the dominant position in world affairs which she has occupied so long. At best, England will become a junior partner in a *new Anglo-Saxon imperialism, in which the economic resources and the military and naval strength of the United States will be the center of gravity.* Southward in our hemisphere and westward in the Pacific *the path of empire takes its way, and . . . the sceptre passes to the United States.*

"We have no alternative, in truth, than to move along the road we have been traveling during the past quarter century, *in the direction which we took with the conquest of Cuba and the Philippines and our participation in the last World War. . . .*"

Gains for the Capitalists Mean Oppression for the People

Such is the language used by one of the representatives of those enterprises making war materials, ten of which, in the first nine months of 1940, doubled their production and profits (from $145,000,000 in 1939 to $279,000,000 in 1940). But, without waiting to hear these revelations, we have always maintained that the war policy of the United States is decided by the interests of the Virgil Jordans, the Morgans, the du Ponts, and not by the "idealism" hailed by our Secretary of Foreign Relations. Imperialist appetites grow, not only in Germany and Italy, in Japan and Britain, but also in the United States. Whereas some conceal their appetites with slogans like "struggle against the Jewish bankers," others speak of the "defense of the Western Hemisphere."

Japan wants a Monroe Doctrine for Asia, with the slogan "Asia for the Asiatics." But this means Asia for the Japanese bankers, just as "America for the Americans" means America for Wall Street.

They Seek to Plunge Mexico Into the Imperialist War

The true extent of the obligations which they seek to impose on Mexico can be estimated if one takes into account the fact that our country is expected to aid the United States, not only when an act of aggression occurs, but whenever there is "a justifiable suspicion or belief that an act of aggression may oc-

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cur," according to the verbatim reply of the Secretary of Foreign Relations to the interpolation of Senator Castillo Torre. The possibilities for dragging Mexico into the war, according to this declaration, are unlimited.

Although they continue to maintain that Mexico will not participate in an extra-continental war, the fact is that once our nation has embarked on an adventure so contrary to its interests, the risks involved in war itself will sweep aside these verbal limitations, which are simply subterfuges employed to sweeten the bitter pill of war. Without using the circumlocutions of the Secretary of Foreign Relations, and at the very time when he spoke, General Enriquez Guzman asserted at Fort Worth, Texas, that "Mexico would fight by the side of the United States, in case of war against any European nation."

The Mexican People Do Not Want Military Alliances

Furthermore, in regard to the question of a possible military alliance with the United States, the Secretary of Foreign Relations answered: ". . . I am sure I am interpreting the resolution of the government and the will of the people in stating that if the exigencies of the present strife demanded it, if the obligations contracted by Mexico demanded it, we would not hesitate to take such a step."

After listening to this statement it is useless to say that no obligations exist which will force Mexico to serve as a peon in the admitted plans of Yankee imperialism. We refuse to accept this as the decision of a government which received the blessing of the will of the people on the basis of a program which demands the strictest neutrality in the present conflict. We are certain that the people's will is opposed to the international policies expressed in the Senate by the Secretary of Foreign Relations. The people's interests clamor for a peace policy, not a war policy. Only in the interests of the Yankee bankers is it beneficial that the war should be prolonged and extended all over the world.

The North American bourgeoisie is counting upon the weakening of the belligerent powers in order to be able to impose its will on them at the last moment and keep the lion's share of the booty. At the same time "it takes advantage of the confusion created by the war in order to fling a rope around the neck of Mexico and penetrate more deeply into Latin America." Furthermore, as Earl Browder, the great friend of Mexico, said, the most powerful motive that pushes the ruling circles of the United States into the war is the "fear of revolutionary upheaval in Europe, and the determination to hold it down by all means." It would not be the first time that the Yankee bourgeoisie plays this role. Did it not try in 1918 to smother the Russian Revolution, sending expeditionary forces which invaded Soviet territory? For speaking these truths Browder was condemned to pay the "democratic" penalty of four years in jail and a fine of $2,000.

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Instead of Naval Bases, Useful Works for the National Economy

Praising the patriotism of the Mexican people so that they should accept the construction of naval and airplane bases, the Secretary of Foreign Relations gave assurances that they would be built with Mexican money, by Mexican engineers and workers, and that at no time would a foreign power be allowed to penetrate the national territory.

The first question that arises on examining these statements is the following: has the Mexican Government money for the construction of these bases? Does not the national interest claim with greater urgency the carrying out of indispensable works in order to develop agriculture, to improve railroad transportation, to improve the living conditions of millions of Indians who live in the most appalling misery? We answer these questions with the assertion that Mexico can not make the copious expenditures that are required for the construction of naval and air bases, except in exchange for a tremendous aggravation of the economic condition of the country and the people. And as to loans from the United States for this purpose, to accept them would be equivalent to mortgaging the sovereignty and the independence of our fatherland.

The Danger That the Naval and Air Bases Represent

Whether it is Mexican or foreign engineers who direct such construction, is a minor question. The important thing is that those bases will not serve Mexico. It is affirmed that Mexico will not permit the penetration of any foreign power into her territory, but at the same time it is announced with empty euphemism that the naval and air bases will be placed "at the service of the American countries." Most assuredly Guatemala or Bolivia will not be the country to utilize these bases, but the United States and only it.

And would perhaps the Yankee fleet or powerful air force not represent a foreign power in our waters and in our lands? Is there anything which concretizes power more than a colossal death-dealing force installed over sections of our fatherland? What is the basis of the confidence of the Secretary of Foreign Relations in the objectives of the North American capitalists in this war? The Mexican people cannot remain satisfied with the guarantees offered by Attorney Padilla, with the understanding that bases occupied by powerful alien forces will be under the vigilance of the Mexican police.

The Greatest Danger to Mexico Is Wall Street

When they clamor deafeningly against the threat of a fascist aggression coming from the other side of the ocean, they wish to hide the real danger, namely, the surrender of our destinies into the hands of a power that is no less predatory and imperialistic than the totalitarian powers, and that is in rapid process of adopting the methods of

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fascism to suppress the democratic liberties of its own people.

Fascism is not an exclusively Italian or German phenomenon. It is one of the forms of rule adopted by the bourgeoisie. It is the dictatorship of the most reactionary and imperialistic elements of finance capital, a dictatorship to which the capitalist class resorts when it is unable to rule by the methods of parliamentarism. War accelerates this process in the belligerent states. Upon the outbreak of war the ruling classes start to suppress the democratic standards of government and civil liberties, establishing the most brutal and reactionary dictatorship. This is what happened in France, whose government spoke of fighting for democracy, while suppressing it within the nation. This is what is happening in the United States under the absolute powers granted Roosevelt.

Let Us Not Forget the Lessons of Our History

The history of Mexico is fully instructive with respect to the real intentions of the financial magnates of the United States who with each new day have more power in their neighbor's country. Notwithstanding the rhetoric of the Secretary of Foreign Relations, designed to keep us from turning our eyes to the past, the people of Mexico cannot put their trust in those who openly declare their aims of conquest and extension of their empire. If there are in Mexico those who lend themselves to serving these aims it is only the small group of landlords and reactionary bourgeoisie who stand in greater fear of their own people and the Mexican revolution than of foreign imperialism; who are willing to hand over the country and betray the nation so long as they can retain their class privileges and their system of exploitation of the toiling majorities. The representatives today of that sector are the Abelardo Rodriguezes, Ezequiel Padillas and others, acting as did the reactionaries in the past, in 1847 and in 1862.

No Support to Either of the Imperialist Gangs

On the other hand, the totalitarian imperialists and their agents are endeavoring to utilize for their own benefit the statements of the Secretary of Foreign Relations, the maneuvers of the Ambassador, Castillo Najeraly, and the cynical revelations of Almazán. They are seeking to take advantage of the Mexican people's desire for peace and their justified hatred of the Yankee and British imperialists, with the aim of converting this stand into sympathy for the totalitarian powers. "The Free Man" (El Hombre Libre), "Omega," the Sinarquistas, the party of Gómez Morín, the "Nationalist Vanguards" (Vanguardias Nacionalistas), the adventurer Leon Osorio, and many other groups in the pay of the Axis powers—these also speak of a struggle for neutrality, an anti-Communist, anti-Semitic neutrality.

The Mexican people are neither

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pro-German nor pro-Allied. They do not support the statements of Ezequiel Padilla, nor do they trust the attitude of Senator M. Flores, because the latter, while speaking of neutrality, betrays the inconsistency of inciting, in the interior of the country, the struggle against the only forces which can effectively fight against and can oppose this war with success.

The Only Policy of Benefit to Mexico

Mexico does not want to go to war to defend the interests of its greatest exploiters, nor does it wish to adopt a "neutrality" which will serve the Axis powers.

As against the tremendous propaganda launched by agents of both imperialist camps, the Mexican people know one thing—that neither of them desires Mexico to assume an independent position and to take advantage of the struggle between themselves to gain complete economic and political independence for herself. Therefore, the only just international policy, one hundred per cent Mexican, the policy which the Communist Party proposes, is that of maintaining peace, *of seeking an alliance with all the peoples of Latin America and the United States,* and of creating a broad continental front for peace, for independence from imperialism and fascism, for support to the peoples of England, Germany, and Italy, and of the United States, for the re-establishment of peace.

The Revolutionary Way Out of the Situation

The dilemma presented—either the triumph of the totalitarian powers or that of the Anglo-American imperialists—is a false one. Peace can be enforced only by the peoples, shaking off the domination of the ruling cliques which are responsible for the war and which benefit by it. The German people and the English people are not responsible for the war; they have no interest in mutually murdering each other. Those responsible for this slaughter are Hitler and Churchill, both equally, who act in the name of imperialist capital in each country. In order to re-establish peace, a peace that should be lasting, without indemnities, without annexations, without new Versailles Treaties, it is necessary that the working class, that the toiling masses in general take into their hands the reins of power in the belligerent nations. Capitalism inevitably begets war. Only socialism can guarantee a stable peace and free the world of the horrors of periodic slaughters, which are each time more cruel and more savage.

The Union of All the Forces of the People to Defend Peace

The Mexican people can still prevent their being dragged into the war; but to accomplish this it is necessary to unite all of its forces, which are the forces for peace. Workers, peasants, women and youth, all those who are not willing

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to be driven to the slaughter, can and must unite in a powerful popular movement for peace and for the independence of our fatherland —a popular movement that will be able to resist the pressure of imperialism, that will be able to lend the necessary support to the President of the republic so that he will adopt a firm policy of neutrality and the defense of the national sovereignty.

In this union, in this popular alliance, the working class and its chief organization, the C.T.M., will play the leading role. The working class, interpreting the indubitable sentiment of the majority of the Mexican people, will raise the banner of peace, of neutrality, of the independence of our country as against the war maneuvers of both imperialist camps. And the representatives of the C.T.M. in the Senate, carrying out the resolutions adopted in a spirit of struggle for complete neutrality of the country, at the last Congress of this group, will surely seize this noble banner, so that not those who hold the opposite position will appear as the spokesmen of the peace aspirations of the Mexican people.

The Communist Party of Mexico will always hold to the position expressed in this Manifesto. Whatever the future situation may be, the Communists will remain faithful to the cause of the Mexican Revolution, to the cause of peace and of socialism and will organize the masses of the people in the struggle for these principles.

Proletarians of all lands, unite!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF MEXICO

Mexico, D.F., March 10, 1941.

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A PROGRAM OF ACTION FOR THE VICTORY OF THE CHILEAN PEOPLE'S FRONT

STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

I

THE discovery of the scandalous frauds perpetrated by the Alessandri-Ross Government in the manipulation of stock certificates—constituting the most brazen transaction ever known on this continent—should serve as the beginning, even though a belated one, of a course of legal action against the guilty parties such as the Popular Front and the people as a whole have been demanding ever since the present administration took office. The embezzlement of some tens of millions of pesos now under investigation in the courts is little more than an episode in the long string of crimes committeed by the ringleaders of the recent regime, headed by Gustavo Ross, whom the people have rightly dubbed "the last pirate of the Pacific."

Indictment of the Alessandri-Ross Combine

The data already accumulated on the scandal mentioned and other matters known to the nation at large make it possible to begin drawing up an indictment of the guilty ones, on the basis of the following facts:

1. It has been established—as our Party has repeatedly pointed out—that Ross and his gang, in the course of the year 1938, received tens of millions of pesos from a group of foreign banks and corporations engaged in exploiting the basic resources of Chile, by way of financing the presidential campaign of the Rights and carrying out a project of wholesale bribery.

The banks and corporations in question are the following:

The North American Guggenheim-Morgan-Rockefeller group, represented by the National City Bank, Lautaro Nitrate, the Anglo-Chilean and other companies; and the *British Rothschild group*, represented by the Bank of London and South America, by the Tarapaca and Antofagasta Saltpeter Company, the Gente Grande Cattle Corporation, Williamson Balfour and others.

It has been proved that Ross, upon receiving the money for his presidential campaign, contracted, among other things, to hand over the rich pampas of Pissis and Nebraska to the company which is headed by Senor Osvaldo de Castro,

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who likewise is deeply involved in the stock swindle.

Accused of the Crime of High Treason

Ross, head of the oligarchic-liberal-conservative outfit, stands charged, therefore, before the people, with the crime of high treason to the fatherland; with plotting against the dignity, sovereignty and independence of the nation; with having schemed to sell the presidency of the Republic to the foreign enemy; and with every variety of crime against the monetary stability of the country and the national economy, particularly as regards the enormous increase in the price of commodities.

2. Along with Ross on the bench of the accused are his accomplices, the accessories and usufructuaries of the swindles: Walker Larrain, Prieto Concha, Aldunate, Rivera Baeza, Urrejola, Irarrazaval, and company. Especially under accusation are the political parties led by the swindlers. The Conservative, Liberal, Agrarian Action, Republican and other parties received and spent the money handed over by the foreign banks and corporations, and carried out the various crimes of fraud, bribery, etc. Accordingly, these political parties are nothing other than criminal gangs, formed for the purpose of committing treason to the fatherland and betraying the will of the people.

The Time Has Come for an Accounting

The time has come to demand of all of them that they render a detailed account of their deeds, in order that they may receive the punishment which they deserve.

The accused, then, is the entire oligarchy, a social caste that is inimical to the people and to the nation, one which, for more than a hundred years, has held power for the advantage of imperialism and its own enrichment, and which, in the course of its political degeneration, has descended to the very lowest depths of abject venality and corruption.

It is this oligarchy which has sought to hide its true face behind the hypocritical mask of "anti-Communism," attributing to the Communist Party all its own crimes, even as the petty robber cries "Stop, thief!" in order that he may make good his own escape.

3. Facts have subsequently shown the correctness of the Popular Front policy. They show that the Popular Front movement, which triumphed in the presidential campaign of 1938, was and continues to be a great national crusade to preserve the independence and unity of Chile, to defend the democratic regime, to improve the working conditions and living standards of the toiling masses, and to safeguard peace.

The Popular Front victory spared Chile the ignominy of falling into the clutches of Ross and those who paid him for his unpatriotic labors. Thanks to the Popular Front, Chile was saved from being reduced to a mere colony of imperialism, and Chileans were saved from being slaves subject to the lash of a foreign master.

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II

The Call to Civil War

The election of March 2 showed that the Popular Front can count upon the broadest support of the toiling masses, and that the oligarchic Schnakite coalition is incapable by itself of defeating the present regime on the field of electoral struggle. The military uprising of Aug. 25, 1939, showed that the conspiratorial groups are, in their turn, incapable of defeating the present regime on the field of armed combat. And so now all the enemies of the Popular Front are coming together in a secret reactionary alliance, as has just been brought to light by the vote in the Chamber of Deputies on April 2.

Conservatives, Liberal Agrarians, followers of Ibanez, and Socialists, bound together by a common hatred of the Popular Front and Communism, vote against the President of the Republic and thereby throw open the gates of the country, that the traitor generals may place themselves at the head of an uprising against the Popular Front and the Popular Front government. It is a call to civil war.

Consequence of the Schnake Policies

The after-the-fact measures adopted by the Schnake leadership against the four deputies who voted with the Rights and Ibanistas cannot save them from their enormous responsibility, and deceive no one, inasmuch as the attitude of these deputies is the logical consequence of the reactionary, anti-people policies of Schnakism.

The recent discovery of an arsenal of war belonging to the leadership of the Socialist Party—which they are trying to cover over with a veil of immunity — removes the last doubt respecting the truly subversive objectives of Schnakism. The Socialist vote in favor of Ibanez and Herrera, leaders of the Nazi-fascist conspiracy in Chile, clearly reveals the meaning, for the people and for democracy, of the so-called "strong government" proposed by Schnake upon his return from the United States.

These facts clearly show that any plan of conciliation with the Rights (such as was manifested in the authorization that was conceded for Ross' return, in the "guarantees" that were granted for bribery, and in the various repressive measures undertaken against the trade union and popular movement), far from swaying the oligarchy from the path of conspiracy and subversion, has no other effect than to fan its arrogance. It shows, furthermore, that the Schnake gang has a role of bare-faced treason and defeatism to play in the bosom of the government and of Parliament, acting under the direct orders of the imperialist oligarchy. And finally, it shows that the government is pursuing a dangerous course if it goes on yielding ground to the Rights, thereby increasing the distance between itself and the Popular Front, the very force which brought it into being in the open struggle with Rossism, and if it continues vacillating and procrastinating in effectually carrying out the 1938 program. Only in the forces of the

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Popular Front with the government find that firm and loyal support which it needs, if it is to repel the vengeful assault of the imperialist oligarchy, aided by a turncoat and traitorous Schnakism.

Forestall a Reactionary Regime

The dangers which are closing in upon the people are enormous. There is no time to be lost. The entire country must be mobilized for participation in a public trial of the oligarchy, in order that all the plotters may be reduced to the most complete impotency, so that it will be impossible for them to stage an uprising against the people. The Rights and the Schnakites must at all costs be prevented from installing a reactionary regime, with the object of dragging the country into war and adapting Chilean economy to the wartime necessities of imperialism, which would mean a major colonization of the country, an intensified exploitation of the toiling masses, and an aggravated offensive against the social gains and civil rights of the proletariat, such as is occurring in the countryside and in such imperialist industries as the Pedro de Valdivia Saltpeter Works, etc.

Liquidate the Material Basis of the Oligarchy

The only way to free Chile from the crimes of the oligarchy is to liquidate the latter's material base, that is to say, by putting an end to its key positions and economic privileges, and by adopting all those measures with respect to its property holdings which may be deemed necessary in bringing it to an accounting.

III

The denunciation formulated by the British embassy of unethical practices which were occurring in the present Exchange Commission constitutes an impudent bit of meddling on the part of a foreign embassy in matters which are under the exclusive sovereignty of the nation, and tends to exert a blackmailing pressure upon the Government and the Criminal Court, with the further objective of diverting the attention of the people, as fictitious arguments are brought forward in exoneration of the British concerns involved in the swindle, and in exculpation of their attorneys and accomplices, Ross, Walker Larrain, and others.

IV

The denunciation formulated against the present Exchange Commission should be the object of the most rigorous investigation. But the Chilean people indignantly reject the idea of a foreign embassy's arrogating to itself the right to sow confusion regarding the responsibility of those English companies which are engaged in the exploitation and the ruination of Chile.

Measures Which It Is Necessary to Adopt

In view of these facts, the Communist Party calls upon the people to organize and to mobilize, and to demand of the government and

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state authorities the adoption of the following measures:

1. Extradition of Gustavo Ross, who, according to the radical daily *La Hora,* in its issue of April 1, "inspired and carried out the most scandalous transaction ever perpetrated in [South] America." Proceedings against Walker Larrain and Prieto Concha. Summary punishment of all the oligarchists involved in the transaction.

2. Extension of the criminal investigation to cover the entire financial administration of Ross during the time that he was Minister of Finance, particularly as regards the direct manipulation of the stock-certificate operations by means of which he was able personally and secretly to administer hundreds of millions of pesos obtained through differences in the rate of exchange.

3. Extension of the criminal investigation to establish the responsibility of the clique which directed Ross' electoral campaign, which spent the money received from the foreign concerns, and which constitutes the leadership of the Liberal and Conservative Parties; the arrest of the same and the seizure and confiscation of their estates.

4. Seizure and confiscation of all the property, real and otherwise, of the Bank of London, of Ross and of his material and moral accomplices.

5. Utilization of the sum obtained through the confiscation of the criminals' estates in restoring to the people the sewing machines and other tools of labor and articles of clothing of which they have had to deprive themselves.

6. Establishment of an effective control on the part of the state over the operations of all banks in the country, with the object of preventing new frauds and utilizing the credit for the benefit of the independent industrial development of Chile, to the advantage of the small farmers, miners, merchants and industrialists.

7. Nationalization of those foreign enterprises which are involved in the stock swindle, and which are accused of having meddled in internal affairs, to the detriment of the people and of democracy.

8. Maintenance of the act prohibiting the return of the fascist conspirators Ibanez and Herrera.

9. Support of the President of the Republic in his veto of the Rightist plot to outlaw the Communist Party and, in general, to limit the free expression of political opinions, in order to prevent the throwing of light upon the crimes of the oligarchy. Defense of the election of the Communist members of Parliament.

10. Formation of a true Popular Front Government through the elimination of those ministers who display a conciliationist, anti-Popular-Front tendency, and their replacement by men who are disposed to support the Popular Front by speeding the realization of an immediate plan of economic and social action, based upon the Popular Front program.

V

The Communist Party calls upon the people to organize and mobilize in order that they may obtain these

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measures of national salvation. Once again, the Communist Party addresses itself to the workers, peasants, professionals and honest intellectuals, to all those progressive individuals who are devoted to the fatherland, and who are desirous of seeing Chile freed of the shameful scars inflicted upon it by the landowning oligarchy: they are urged to group themselves in committees with a Popular Front base, in shop, commune, city ward and on landed estate, with the object of struggling for the adoption of the measures indicated, for their own demands, and for the effective and rapid fulfilment of the 1938 program.

On the sixth day of April next, all the people of Chile will be called upon the pass judgment on the forces that confront them. The people will have to choose between the Rights (and their Schnakite lackeys) and the Popular Front, between reaction and progress, between swindlers in the service of foreign interests and a struggle for the liberation and national dignity of Chile.

The Popular Front will triumph, and the people of each commune, organized in committees of struggle, will remain vigilant in seeing to it that the Popular Front program is carried out.

THE POLITICAL COMMISSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE.

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SPACE AND TIME—FORMS OF THE EXISTENCE OF MATTER

BY GEORGE KURSANOV

II. The Problem of Space and Time in Modern Science *

THE dialectical-materialist conception of space and time is based on the data of science which have been sustained by the whole history of human knowledge and practice. The study of the properties of space and time in particular is possible only on the basis of the latest achievements of mathematics and physics.

Mathematics is the science of the quantitative relations and the spatial forms of the actual world. The analysis of spatial forms is the immediate field of geometry. In order to establish the properties of space it is necessary, therefore, to learn its geometrical properties. The latter, however, are not independent, but are determined by the physical nature of space and by the properties of matter itself. Only from this point of view is an analysis of the geometrical properties of space possible.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries brought many new contributions to the study of space. Among these are the construction of the new, non-Euclidean geometries and the new qualitative geometry, topology, which studies the most general properties of space and spatial figures; the new theory of the connection between space and matter, replacing the erstwhile ether theory; the formulation of the theory of relativity, signifying a sharp departure from the conceptions of space and time held by classical physics. Such are the physical discoveries which have in recent times given us the materials for a dialectical-materialist theory of space and time.

* * *

For two thousand years the stately structure of Euclidean geometry stood undisturbed. Its axioms were believed infallible; its theorems, following logically from the unassailable axioms, had the force

* The reader is referred to *The Communist* for April, in which the author discussed the problem of space and time as treated in metaphysical materialism and idealistic philosophy. The June issue will contain the concluding section, "Dialectical Materialism on Space and Time," of this essay, which originally appeared in the Soviet theoretical periodical *Pod Znamieniem Marxizma* ("Under the Banner of Marxism") for June, 1940.—*Ed.*

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of laws. Euclidean geometry was considered the only possible geometry, the absolute geometry of the universe.

The system of Euclidean geometry rests on a number of axioms. The purely geometrical axioms are:

A. The axiom of congruence (the eighth): "Magnitudes which coincide when superimposed upon one another, that is, which exactly fill the same space, are equal to one another."

B. The axiom of the straight line (the twelfth): "Two straight lines cannot enclose a space."*

C. The axiom of the parallel lines, the famous postulate V (in Euclid's formulation — the eleventh axiom): "That if a straight line falling on two straight lines makes the interior angles on the same side less than two right angles, the two straight lines, produced indefinitely, meet on that side on which are the angles less than the two right angles." **

Euclidean geometry has the following characteristics: a straight line is the shortest distance between two points; two parallel lines intersect at infinity (in elementary exposition, parallel lines do not intersect); Euclidean space is plane, and in it the geometrical theorems are constructed.

It was believed that Euclidean geometry adequately reflected real space, that it was its geometrical image. The important place accorded to it in classical physics and in the engineering sciences seemingly testified to its absolute character. Actually, however, the development of human knowledge disproved this. Euclidean geometry is but a first approximation in the knowledge of spatial forms, reflecting only a certain, limited complex of spatial properties. The very discovery of non-Euclidean geometries constituted a refutation of the Euclidean geometry as an absolute system of geometry.

* * *

The discovery of the non-Euclidean geometries was the result, according to Lobachevski, of the attempts to fill in the logical breach in the question of parallels. The fact is that the 5th postulate concerning parallels has no logical connection with the other axioms. Hence, all the attempts to derive (*i.e.*, validate) this postulate from the other axioms were either characterized by outright errors in a complex chain of reasoning, or else in the course of the proof the postulate itself, indefinitely formulated, was assumed—*i.e.*, there was a vicious circle. Thus, the question arose of the possibility of replacing the 5th postulate.

The problem took the following form: Suppose, discarding the 5th postulate and replacing it by some other postulate, we construct on this foundation a new system of geometry. We should then either (1) arrive at an absurdity by building our geometry on contradictory postulates, if the 5th postulate is really implied in the other axioms; or (2) if the 5th postulate is actually independent, then there need be no contradiction in the new geometry.

Nineteenth-century geometry gave

* *The Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements*, Heath edition, Cambridge, England, 1926, Vol. I, p. 225.

** *Ibid.*, p. 155.

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a negative answer concerning the contradictory nature of such a system. Non-Euclidean geometries in which the 5th postulate has no place constitute rigorous, logically consistent systems.

The first to construct a non-Euclidean system of geometry was the great Russian mathematician Nikolai Ivanovich Lobachevski, who published his discovery in 1829. The ideas of non-Euclidean geometry had been developed somewhat earlier by Karl Gauss who, however, failed to expand them into a system; nor did he publish his demonstrations at the time, fearful of arousing the ire of the reactionaries of the scientific world. Somewhat later the Hungarian mathematician Farkas Bolyai invented a non-Euclidean geometry analogous to the geometry of Lobachevski. In 1854 George F. Riemann brought a new current into the non-Euclidean geometry, constructing a non-Euclidean system in which the 5th postulate is replaced by a postulate different from Lobachevski's. Thus, the world was confronted with three different geometries, resting on contrary postulates: the geometry of Euclid, the geometry of Lobachevski-Bolyai, and the geometry of Riemann. In the Euclidean geometry only one line could be drawn through a point parallel to a given straight line; in the geometry of Lobachevski-Bolyai, two parallel lines; in Riemann's geometry none. This is, of course, only one of the most important differences among these geometric systems; but in itself it shows how different must be the particular conclusions derived from such varying axioms.

The creation of non-Euclidean geometries faced science with profound philosophical problems. Idealist philosophy endeavored to prove the a priori and arbitrary nature of geometric conceptions, resuscitating the Kantian conceptions of space and of geometry. In opposition to the idealists, a different, a materialistic explanation was called for by these new discoveries. The creation of the non-Euclidean geometries speaks for the fact that geometrical axioms have value and preserve their usefulness only in the event that they reflect definite properties of real space and spatial configurations: the geometry of Lobachevski-Bolyai is realized in a group of spatial figures of negative curvature, on the so-called pseudo-sphere of Beltrami (which is shaped somewhat like a goblet), while Riemann's geometry is exemplified in spherical spaces. The Euclidean axioms and theorems do not hold for these spatial figures, which are the domain of the non-Euclidean geometries.*

From the foregoing follow extremely important consequences: first, that Euclidean geometry is not the sole or the absolute geometry of space; secondly, that each system of geometry reflects only a definite complex of spatial properties and holds true only in connection with properties of real space. These conclusions betoken the richness and inexhaustibility of the properties of real space, the knowledge of which can be attained through ever closer

* Euclidean relations are valid in the infinitely small regions of the non-Euclidean geometries. This indicates that there is a close connection among all spatial properties which are reflected in different systems of geometry.

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approximations to absolute truth, through discoveries of further properties of space.

* * *

The initiation in the nineteenth century of a new branch of geometry, topology, has also exceptional importance for the knowledge of the properties of real space. Topology (*Analysis situs*), studies those properties of space and spatial figures that remain invariant (unchanged) under all continuous deformations.

The field of topology is the study of the most general, most essential properties of space. That means, first of all, the property of dimensionality. In this respect topology studies spatial objects of various numbers of dimensions, such as objects of one dimension (linear figures), two-dimensional objects, etc., from the point of view of those properties which are dependent on the corresponding number of dimensions. Topology further studies the property of the connectedness of spatial objects, a property which reflects the continuity of material space and the continuance of spatial objects. Then follows the property according to which spatial objects are open or closed. This property applied to the whole of real space becomes extremely important since it signifies acceptance (and proof) of the finiteness or infinity of space. Another very important property studied in topology is the orientation of spatial objects, the property of their mutual disposition and relation to space.

The topological properties of space are therefore its most essential properties. They are determined in the final analysis by the properties of matter itself, which moves in space (and in time) and which is the sole substance of change.

At present the development of topology has reached a high level, enabling us to utilize its results to throw light on a number of the properties of real space.

* * *

The re-examination of the theory of ether by modern physics has provided abundant material for the development of the dialectical-materialist conception of space.

The search for ether as a material medium filling the space of the universe implied in the final analysis the rejection of empty, non-material space. The nineteenth century in this respect was the century in which various mechanical models of the ether were constructed, which, however, crumbled away one by one with the further advance of physics.

Experiments designed to discover the "ether drift" caused by the movement of the Earth had failed, and the special theory of relativity was advanced which rejected the existence of ether as the universal material medium.*

At the present time, ether as a special material medium is not recognized by physics; the physical properties of space are determined by the properties of matter itself.

* The Michelson-Morley experiment (1880) was designed to detect variations in the velocity of light due to relative motion of the source of light and the observer. If there were a stationary medium, such as the ether, carrying light, as air carries sound, there would be such variations. Contrary to all expectations, no differences for different relative velocities could be detected.—*Ed.*

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The idea of universal ether as a special qualitative matter filling universal space is rejected. This does not at all imply the bankruptcy of the idea of the correlation between matter and space. On the contrary, the ether theory was rejected precisely because of the objective reality of space, determined by the continuity of matter. Historically, the idea of the material ether was progressive, since it served to refute the idea of empty space and thus affirmed the inseparable connection of space and matter.

* * *

The idea of the correlation of space and matter is connected in modern physics with the theory of material fields. Faraday, disputing the Newtonian theory of remote action (*actio in distans*), introduced the theory of electro-magnetic fields. The general theory of relativity established the dependence of the properties of space on the distribution of matter in it. Wherever masses of matter exist, there exists a gravitational field which is continuous and which acts at absolutely every point of space.

Einstein holds that it is impossible to conceive any point in space devoid of a gravitational field; on the other hand, we may conceive points in space which are devoid of electro-magnetic fields. The presence of uncharged particles (neutrons) inside the atom also suggests the existence of places in space without an electro-magnetic field.

A logical development of these theories is the attempt on the part of several modern physicists (primarily Einstein) to develop a unified theory in which the laws of both electro-magnetic and gravitational fields would be combined. So far, these attempts have not led to satisfactory results. It is important for us to note the rational content of the theory of material fields which reflects the property of the continuity of matter in space and confirms the tenet of dialectical materialism as to the connection between space and matter.

By and large it is indisputable that modern physics upholds the principle of correlation between space and matter.

* * *

The basic ideas of the theory of relativity are of especially great importance to the materialistic interpretation of space. The crucial point of the theory of relativity lies in the radical revision of the views of classical physics on space and time.

Its most important aspect is the conception of the universe as a single unit in which space and time are inseparably connected. One of the founders of the theory of relativity, Hermann Minkowski, expressed this in the following words: "Henceforth space by itself, and time by itself, are doomed to fade away into mere shadows, and only a kind of union of the two will preserve an independent reality."*

The theory of relativity replaces

* Hermann Minkowski, "Space and Time," in *The Principle of Relativity*, a collection of essays by H. A. Lorentz, A. Einstein, H. Minkowski, and H. Weyl. Dodd, Mead, New York, 1923, p. 75.

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the independent space-interval (distance) and the independent time-interval between any two events by the conception of the space-time interval. Motion is considered—not in separate relation to space or time, but in relation to a single, unitary space-time continuum (the continuous material world). It is in this sense that Einstein speaks of the absolute character of the space-time continuum in contrast to the absolute time and absolute space, each independent, of classical physics.

The motion of the so-called world-point* takes place in this space-time world. The change of its position in the universe registers simultaneously in space coordinates and in time.

In this way, space and time obtain their unity in the motion of the so-called world-point in the unitary space-time world.

On the basis of the connection of the space coordinates and time, the theory of relativity establishes a number of new correlations differing from those of classical physics.

The transformations of H. A. Lorentz which were worked out by him shortly before the appearance of the theory of relativity are made use of by this theory as the principal basis of the new relations. The Lorentz transformations furnish the equations for the change from one system of co-ordinates to another, when the two systems are moving in respect to one another in uniform motion in a straight line with constant velocity smaller than the velocity of light. These equations lead to the conclusion that events shown as simultaneous in one system are not simultaneous in the other, and vice versa. Likewise, the space-intervals of the events are not identical from the point of view of differently moving systems. The simultaneity of events and the constancy of distance are relative.

The special theory of relativity is based on the following two postulates:

I. The special principle of relativity: "If a system of co-ordinates K is chosen so that, in relation to it, physical laws hold good in their simplest form, the *same* laws also hold good in relation to any other system of co-ordinates K^1 moving in uniform translation relatively to K."*

II. The principle of the constant speed of light: "Every ray of light moves in the 'stationary' system of co-ordinates, with the determined velocity C, whether the ray be emitted by a stationary body or by a moving body. Hence,

$$\text{Velocity} = \frac{\text{light path}}{\text{time interval}}.$$" **

These two basic principles of the special theory of relativity are founded on experimental facts and are a generalization of the recent advances of physics, in particular, of the results obtained in the search for the "ether drift" and for an absolute motion. Neither principle

* A "world-point" is a space-time event, *i.e.*, it is characterized by the time of the event as well as the three coordinates in ordinary space. The coordinates of a point describe the position of the point in space. For example, the position of any point in a room is uniquely determined by its distances from two specified perpendicular walls and the floor. The number of coordinates necessary is equal to the number of dimensions.—*Ed.*

* Albert Einstein, "The Foundation of the General Theory of Relativity," *ibid.*, p. 111.

** Albert Einstein, "On the Electrodynamics of Moving Bodies," *ibid.*, p. 41.

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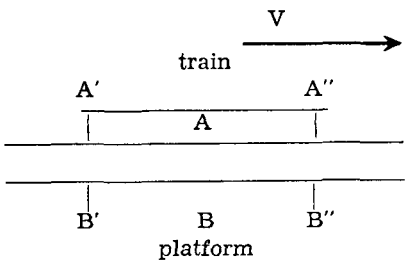
contradicts any known experimental fact.

Accordingly, our conceptions of time and space change radically. Specifically, we deduce the relativity of the simultaneity of events and the relativity of the length of the space-interval between events. Let us illustrate this important principle by a well-known example:

Take two systems of co-ordinates, one, for instance, the stationary platform of a railroad station and the other a moving train. The train moves relative to the platform with a constant speed V. Assume two observers, one, observer A, stationed at the middle of the moving train, and the other, observer B, at the middle of the stationary platform. Designate the two ends of the train as A′ and A″ and the two ends of the platform respectively as B′ and B″. The train is moving in the direction from A′ to A″.



Let the center of the train and the center of the platform coincide at a given moment and consequently the positions of the two observers would also coincide at this moment. Observer A who is at the center of the train sends light signals to the ends of the train, A′ and A″. In accordance with the second principle of the special theory of relativity, the light is propagated with a constant velocity in both directions, and since, according to the given condition, the distances from Observer A to both ends of the train are equal, his light signals will reach both ends A′ and A″ simultaneously. The simultaneous arrival of the signals at both ends of the train is unquestionable from the point of view of A, the observer in the train.

Things look quite different, however, from the point of view of observer B who is at the center of the stationary platform. Inasmuch as the train is moving at a certain speed with respect to the platform, therefore, from the point of view of B the light signal has to overtake the train's end A″ (which is moving away from the signal), whereas the end A′ of the train is moving toward the signal. Therefore light will reach the end A″ of the train later than it will reach the end A′, in other words—not simultaneously. But we have ascertained that, according to the point of view of the observer A, light arrives at both ends of the train at the same time. Hence, the inevitable conclusion, that the simultaneity of events is relative, has validity only from the point of view of a definite system and loses its validity from the point of view of another. Everything depends, therefore, on the motion of the different systems.

From the relativity of simultaneity follows the relativity of the space-interval, the relativity of length. Observer A measures the length of the train by applying his standard of measurement a definite

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number of times to the train from one end to the other. Observer B cannot use the same method directly because the train is moving with respect to the platform. He therefore goes about it in a different way. At some moment he marks on the platform the points cinciding with the front end of the train A″ and the rear end of the train A′. Let us name these points B″ and B′. By measuring the distance between these points, Observer B will determine the length of the train. This length would be the same as in the first case, were it possible to mark the points B″ and B′ simultaneously. But this is impossible in the given case, since simultaneity in different systems is relative, and therefore by marking the points B″ and B′ at different moments we shall obtain a correspondingly different length for the train in measuring it from a different system. The space-interval also becomes relative.

The relativity of the space-interval and the relativity of simultaneity do not at all signify denial of the objectivity of space and time. The problem under discussion is the universality of the relative character of the motion of bodies, inasmuch as there is no motion of a body unrelated to others and unreferred to others.

"Motion of a single body—does not exist, only relative motion," says Engels.* Motion of a body is possible only in relation to some definite medium, known as the frame of reference. In this relative motion, the measurements of space and time are dependent on the corresponding motion of the bodies or systems. The question concerns the relative measurement of temporal and spatial intervals and not the denial of the objectivity of space and time.

Let us note that the relative character of simultaneity and the space-interval depends, not on the perception of the observer, nor on his subjective qualities, but on the velocities with which different systems travel with respect to one another, *i.e.*, on the completely objective course of events.

Space and time lose their absolute characters as self-existent, independent forms of the being of matter. They are absolute and objective, not in mutual separation, but in their mutual bond, in their unitary and inseparable character. The theory of relativity demonstrates that it is impossible to establish the simultaneity of events without determining their spatial intervals and that it is impossible to establish the latter without determining the former. In contradistinction to classical physics which conceived absolute space and absolute time as independent, the theory of relativity accepts as absolute the unitary space-time continuum. Einstein states: "If it was logical from Newton's point of view to start with the assumption: 'Tempus est absolutum, spatium est absolutum'* then the special theory of relativity must affirm 'continuum spatii et temporis est absolutum.'" ** The

* Friedrich Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, International Publishers, New York, p. 156.

* "Time is absolute and space is absolute."
** "The continuum of space and time is absolute."

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absoluteness and objectivity of space and time appear in the theory of relativity on a new level, not in their metaphysical separation, but in their dialectical connection.

* * *

The last consideration which remains to be noted here is the independence of a sequence of physical processes in all inertial systems,* as formulated in the principle of special relativity. This means that the objectivity of the passage of time and the objectivity of space intervals remain in full force while we perceive their relativity when they are measured in systems moving at different speeds. This relativity in no way conflicts with their objectivity.

Further, the theory of relativity is progressive and profoundly scientific in advancing the idea of connection between the geometrical properties of space and the physical properties of matter itself. The geometrical appears as dependent on and determined by the physical. This was clearly revealed in the fate of Euclidean geometry.

The metric, *i.e.*, the quantitative, relations of space are expressed in Euclidean geometry only very approximately.

[*The reader not conversant with higher mathematics can pass over the two mathematical equations given below, since they are introduced here by way of illustration; their omission should not interfere with his following the main line of argument.*—Ed.]

Euclidean geometry expresses the element of length (a segment of space) by the well known theorem of Pythagoras, whose expansion in differential form for space of three dimensions becomes:

$$ds^2 = dx^2 + dy^2 + dz^2$$

where ds is the length of the segment; dx, dy, dz are the differences of the co-ordinates of the beginning and the end of the segment in the Cartesian system of co-ordinates.

According to the general theory of relativity the metric relations of space depend on the distribution of matter in space. The presence of masses of matter conditions the existence of gravitational fields. The latter determine the curvature of space and this curvature is what, according to Einstein, directly determines the metric of space.

This metric is not Euclidean. It is expressed by the so-called fundamental tensor G_{ik}, into which there enter the elements characterizing space. The linear element is expressed mathematically in the following way:

$$ds^2 = G_{ik},\ dx^i\ dx^k,$$

where the subscripts i and k take successively the values 1, 2, 3, for the three-dimensional space.

In this way the theory of relativity establishes the definite dependence of the geometric properties of space on its physical nature, on the properties of matter itself. This is unquestionably one of the most remarkable ideas of the theory of relativity.

* An inertial system is defined as any system of co-ordinates in which the laws of physics take the same simple form as in a system apparently at rest. That is to say, the motion of bodies in a uniformly moving train can be described by the same laws as though the train were standing still. —*Ed.*

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The theory of relativity replaces Euclidean geometry with the geometry of Riemann.

At this point the deductions of the theory of relativity cease to be scientific. First: the theory of relativity here mechanically carries over the laws of the finite to the infinite. And yet, the deductions of the theory of relativity concerning finite space are applicable only within the sphere of action of the given center of masses of matter, but they lose their validity beyond the boundaries of this sphere. There is no unitary gravitational center in the universal space, therefore the analysis of the theory of relativity is not applicable to infinite space.

Secondly: in the theory of relativity there appears another incorrect tendency—the attempt to derive general laws of the motion of matter from geometrical properties. The tendency to derive the properties of space from Riemann's geometric properties is a manifestation of this unscientific trend. Actually, in the world of reality there exists the opposite relation. The sole substance of all changes is matter. Its properties determine all other properties. The properties of space, as a form of existence of matter, are of course determined by matter itself.

At present the very same tendency is expressed in the attempts of contemporary physicists (Einstein among them) to devise a unitary field theory,* constructing it from the all-inclusive system of geometry (the non-Riemann system of geometry of Weyl and others). These attempts have not succeeded and they cannot succeed because, in nature, it is not the properties of space which determine the properties of matter, but, on the contrary, the properties of matter determine those of space.

In conclusion, we shall note the following points in the theory of relativity:

1. The idea, which the theory of relativity has demonstrated, that space and time are inseparably bound up is a profoundly dialectical idea showing up the metaphysical limitations of classical physics which regarded space and time as two separate entities, independent of each other.

2. The idea of the theory of relativity concerning the dependence of the geometrical properties of space (the metric relations) on the properties of matter reflects the actual dependence existing in the real world. This idea, too, is profoundly scientific.

3. The opposite tendency, evidenced in the theory of relativity, the tendency to assert the dependence of the physical on the geometrical, leads to the unscientific conclusions of the finiteness of space. The tendency to determine the properties of matter from geometric constructions interpreted as an absolute is also unscientific.

On the whole, the theory of relativity signifies a radical change in our conceptions of space and time and its propositions should be evaluated and utilized objectively in the dialectical-materialist interpretation of space and time.

* A "unitary field" theory is one which attempts to describe electro-magnetic as well as gravitational influences in a single formulation.—*Ed.*

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SOME GENERAL PROBLEMS OF THE ALIEN REGISTRATION

[*We are reprinting below the statement of the National Committee of the Communist Party, which was published in the* Daily Worker *of August 24, 1940. In view of the fact that the text is not readily available, and to meet the many inquiries received by the National Office of the Party, we are republishing the document here for reference—Editor.*]

THE registration and fingerprinting of all aliens is to begin on August 27 and extends through December 26, 1940.

All aliens must apply during that period at their local post offices or such other places as may be designated, answer certain questions under oath and be fingerprinted.

The questionnaire as prepared by the Department of Justice contains fifteen questions for the alien to answer.

Under the first question, the alien is required to state his name and all other names he ever used or was known by, whether nicknames, aliases, or otherwise.

Most of the other questions require the alien to state his family and marital status, mode and date of entry into the United States, occupation, name of employer, etc.

Questions 10 and 15 are the most confusing and bothersome ones.

Under question 10, the alien is required to state the activities he has been engaged in during the last five years and the activities he intends to be engaged in. There is no definition of any particular sort of activities; presumably *all* activities are covered by this question. Presumably, the activities to be listed are those other than employment which the alien has or will be engaged in. So that if the alien plays tennis, golf, or swims, he is technically required to list such activities. However, obviously the Department of Justice is not interested in such activities, yet their question covers them. Which activities should, therefore, the alien list? We believe that he should list all, regardless how trivial they may seem at first blush, as the only protection against possible charges of concealment.

* * *

The second part of question 10 requires the alien to list membership or activities in clubs, organizations or societies. So, if an alien is or at any time in the last five years has been a member of or active in a political club, fraternal organization, church, bridge club, sport group, trade union, etc., he is required to list them all.

Question 15 requires the alien to state whether or not the alien has

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within the last five years been affiliated with or active in (member of, official of, a worker for) organizations devoted in whole or in part to influencing or furthering the political activities, public relations or public policy of a foreign government.

Clearly, this question was called forth by the provisions of the Naturalization Law which require that aliens who desire to become citizens foreswear all allegiance to foreign governments. The affiliation or activity referred to in this question apply to organizations either s t up by foreign governments or existing for the purpose of furthering the political activities, public relations, or public policies of foreign governments. Hence, this cannot refer to such organizations as the Masons, the Rotary, the A. F. of L., the Catholic Church, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, etc., all of which, while having international affiliations, are not affiliated with and do not further the activities of a foreign government, and therefore do not come within the purview of this question.

* * *

The Communist Party of the United States is an American political party, no less than the Democratic or Republican Party. It does not now nor has it ever sought to influence the public policy of a foreign government. As a political party acting as spokesman of the working people of America, it has always been concerned with the relations which the American Government has with foreign governments. That is the function of every political party, the Communist as well as the Republican or Democratic. To that end it has always urged the American Government in its economic and political intercourse with foreign governments to further and extend friendly relations with all peace-loving countries and people.

No non-citizen can truthfully register present membership in the Communist Party.

Formerly, until the Eleventh Convention, the Party membership included a number of non-citizens, mostly those with first papers, expecting to become citizens soon. The Party Constitution requires citizenship for its members, or a declaration of intention to become a citizen. But following the Eleventh Convention, the National Committee took action canceling the Party membership of all non-citizens without exception, because of the rising tide of exceptional laws directed against them, for which there is no present protection. Therefore, there is now no non-citizen member in the Communist Party of the U.S.A. This action is not a surrender to the alien-baiters, and is not intended to hamper non-citizens in the exercise of their social and political rights, but on the contrary, as the beginning of an intensified struggle on behalf of the non-citizens in all fields, including the repeal of the un-American registration bill, and to establish the unity of the people, which reactionaries and warmongers wish to divide in order the more effectively to repress.

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BOOK REVIEWS

EDGAR SNOW'S STUDY OF THE FAR EASTERN CONFLICT

THE BATTLE FOR ASIA, By Edgar Snow. Random House, 1941, 431 pp., $3.75.

RECENT events have given an especial timeliness to Edgar Snow's study of the Far Eastern conflict—devoted largely, but not entirely, to conditions observed by him in China. For the year 1941 has brought the crucial issue of China's internal unity to the forefront of Far Eastern politics. Ushered in by a treacherous ambush of the New Fourth Army's headquarters and rear-guard detachment, resulting in the death of its field commander and the "arrest" of its commander, it is proving a severe testing time for the Kuomintang-Communist united front. These developments occurred too late for treatment in Snow's book, so that it does not cover the acute crisis that has arisen in 1941. His own dispatches from the Far East in January, however, including the first accurate details of the attack on the Fourth Army, broke through the Kuomintang censorship and punctured the distorted version sent out from Chungking.

In his earlier pages, which go back to the beginnings of the war in China, Snow deals with the Japanese occupation of Peïping, the hostilities at Shanghai, and the birth of Indusco (the industrial cooperatives) in which he participated. Two chapters are devoted to the background and organization of the New Fourth Army; in view of present events, these are among the most significant chapters in the book. Snow's final sentence on the New Fourth illuminates the whole course of recent developments: "Had it [the New Fourth] been able to draw upon the resources of the main Government bases, had it been permitted to arm and finance the thousands of people it had organized, and to extend to other regions, still more dramatic results might have been obtained."

A number of the Chungking leaders had never been enthusiastic about the formation of the New Fourth, and they became increasingly alarmed by the extent of its military successes against the Japanese invaders. They hesitatingly sanctioned the organization of this people's army, gave it the barest minimum of support, placed restrictions on its growth, and eventually ordered it out of the lower Yangtze valley where it had built up a guerrilla base that functioned with

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increasing effectiveness. Today that base has been destroyed, and Wang Ching-wei's puppet troops occupy sections of its former territories. Chungking's regular troops cannot fill the shoes of the New Fourth Army in the lower Yangtze valley. North of the Yangtze river the bulk of the Fourth Army is still intact, under a new commander appointed by the Chinese Communist Party's newly constituted National Revolutionary Military Committee. Here it faces continued pressure from Chungking (formally, Chungking has ordered its "dissolution") to move still farther north out of its bases in Anhui and Kiangsu provinces. This policy of attack on the united front is a criminal blow to the war of resistance, and to the Chinese people's sacrificial efforts to win their national liberation.

* * *

From the outset of Japan's invasion in July, 1937, it has been axiomatic that maintenance and extension of the united front program are essential to a speedy and effective victory for China. At the heart of this program lies the necessity for the broadest participation of the Chinese people in the struggle, based on extension of democratic rights and at least a start toward betterment of the livelihood of China's peasant and worker masses. An entrenched group of reactionaries in the Chinese central government has never been willing to accept this program, much less to work for its full realization in practice. Their open sabotage and undercover intrigues, marked by a long list of anti-Communist provocations, have constantly undermined Kuomintang-Communist cooperation, and prevented the complete mobilization of China's war potential. Their growing domination of Chungking's policy, climaxed by the recent moves against the Fourth Army, have raised the whole problem of China's political unity to a new and more critical level. The demands of the Communist Party of China for a thoroughgoing reorganization of the Chungking government, backed by the reconstitution of its National Revolutionary Military Committee, form the clearest indication of the scope of the political crisis which has arisen in China. It has passed beyond the stage of "friction" or "incidents," which can be settled by minor and temporary compromises, and moved into an area where a fundamental overhauling of the bases of Kuomintang-Communist cooperation has become imperative.

* * *

The Chinese government's fear of the people, of popular organization and initiative in the wartime effort, is shown in page after page of Snow's book. Unfortunately, this material is not presented in brief compass in a single section, but is scattered throughout a number of chapters. Sometimes it is merely one sentence that lights up the situation like a flash of lightning. The scattering of references on this subject is not so much deliberate as symptomatic; at every phase of China's war effort, we are faced with this omnipresent fear of the

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people by the Chinese ruling classes. It is evident at the top, in the Kuomintang bureaucracy and the central government organs, and it is also evident in local administration and in army policy.

One of the most revealing chapters, called "Lessons from a Magistrate" (pp. 311-316), comes toward the end of the book. It shows a progressive magistrate seeking to introduce reforms in a model *hsien*, or county, in a Kuomintang area, but feeling thoroughly disillusioned over the outlook. He believes that the old conditions of landlord-gentry oppression of the peasantry, clearly revealed by incidental observations of the obstacles which he confronted, will return as soon as he and his aides leave. But the point is that these conditions are typical for agrarian China under Kuomintang control. In this setting, a program to mobilize the peasantry for struggle against the invader runs counter to the whole system of social and political relations. For centuries, in fact, a central necessity for the landlord-gentry has been the organization of a local militia, or *min-tu'an*, used as a vigilante force to suppress peasant opposition to rent and tax extortions. This situation is necessarily reflected in army policy. We are not surprised when Snow writes: "Chiang Ting-fu, secretary of the Executive Yuan, told me that about 2,000,000 men were serving in the *min-tu'an* and the pacification forces in Free China—more than the front-line operatives fighting Japan." (p. 179.) Snow also suggests a political motive in the failure to build up a wide network of decentralized arsenals in free China. "To equip still larger armies China had either quickly to build up numerous decentralized small-arms factories of her own or immensely increase her foreign imports. With a 'guerrilla arsenal' system, China might have been able to equip with side arms as many as five million fighters in the enemy's rear. But for reasons best known to the National Military Council it was decided to rely mainly on imported supplies." (p. 180.) The same problem entered into the central government's effort to organize a large-scale guerrilla movement with central troops, for which the advice and support of the Chinese Communist leaders were at first solicited. It proved difficult, however, to re-train "old-type officers, unused to cooperation with the peasantry, into democrats capable of winning popular confidence and protection. Another weakness, to which there will be later allusions, was the activity inside the army of political groups much more concerned with 'recovering lost territory' from their Communist countrymen rather than from the Japanese." (p. 184.) Most of the new guerrilla forces, numbering half a million men, "were concentrated north of the Yangtze River, in Hupeh, Honan, Anhui, and Southern Shantung and Hopei." In the latter provinces, particularly, they often become rivals of the Eighth Route Army units.

The Chinese reactionary elements are, of course, most conspicuous in all the high army, government and party organs. In the chapter on

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"The Kuomintang and the Bureaucracy" (pp. 206-215), Snow lifts the veil on part of the picture. Other parts are often shown almost incidentally, and on pages 353-356 there is a forthright treatment of the reactionaries' persistent anti-Communist provocations. Snow writes: "It was no secret in China that anti-Communist groups in the army and among Kuomintang and Government officials, working in collaboration with gentry and local militarists with dubious connections, were responsible for countless 'incidents' in the guerrilla regions and their environs. . . . I have discussed the effort of the Kuomintang Right Wing to preserve the one-party dictatorship and to suppress other activity in the unpenetrated areas of China, and have told of the formation of a War Areas Party and Political Affairs Commission to eradicate the anti-Japanese movement led by the Communists behind the enemy's lines. . . . Factions in the Central Army and the Kuomintang, and of course prominent in the Government, sabotaged the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies in ways which elsewhere would be called Fifth Columnism. Such secret organizations as the Blueshirts under Tai Li, the 'Regenerationists' under General Hu Tsung-nan, the Army Gendarmes, the Three Principles Youth Brigades, and other groups whose names would be meaningless without explanations for which there is no space here, all collaborated to carry out what was known as the 'Procedure for Curbing the Activity of the Alien Parties.' . . . Incidents multiplied rapidly and in 1940 became so serious that progressive people everywhere half feared the Kuomintang might altogether abandon the effort against Japan and concentrate on what appeared to be its main interest: a renewed civil war against 'the Reds.'"

There is no space here to deal with Snow's effective description of the political, military and social institutions in the Eighth Route Army territory, as these were functioning in North China somewhat more than a year ago. Fortunately, this descriptive analysis is concentrated in Parts Eight and Nine (pp. 281-356); it deserves careful reading. These pages also include a discussion of the Soviet Union's attitude and policy toward China, as well as of recent developments in Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan). In most respects this analysis is accurate and fair, although marred at a number of points by Trotskyite-inspired confusion in regard to the U.S.S.R. and its foreign policy that was revealed in *Red Star Over China,* a critical analysis of which, by V. J. Jerome and Li Chuan, appeared in *The Communist* for May, 1938.

This confusion prompts Snow to declare that the Chinese Communists occupy "a far more favorable situation in relation to Soviet strategy" than the British or American Communist Parties, for example. The former contribute directly to the Soviet Union's strategic security, and therefore are assured of Soviet support! No mention whatever of the unwavering insistence of Marxist-Leninist policy upon support of the

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national liberation struggle of all colonial and semi-colonial countries —a support which obviously must be coordinated with maintenance of the Soviet Union's impregnability to imperialist attack, if the colonies and semi-colonies are not to lose their strongest bulwark. Furthermore, although Snow has been for a decade in the Far East, and has had no contacts with either British or American Communist leaders, he introduces an irrelevant and unfounded attack on these parties into his consideration of the Chinese Communists and the Soviet Union. As a reporter, and one who has made his reputation by face-to-face interviews with the Chinese Communist leaders, he might at least have suspended judgment on the British and American parties until he had similarly interviewed their leaders.

Snow's efforts to build up an ultra-peculiar "nationalistic" Communist Party of China (pp. 288-289) would hardly be supported by the leaders of that party, whom he is ostensibly reporting. Can Snow be unaware that the national liberation struggle, in which the Chinese Communists are the staunchest fighters, is in no way "nationalist" in an exclusivist sense, but is bound up heart and soul with the proletarian and peoples' internationalism? And who has voiced this truth more strongly, in theory and in practice, than the very Mao Tse-tung whom Snow would endow with a "nationalist sentiment" in the exclusivist sense—that is, in the sense opposed to the internationalism of the Communist movement?

Snow's essential difficulty is that of all bourgeois liberals who find themselves unable to adopt an uncompromising stand in opposition to their bourgeoisie in the second imperialist war. "Before the war," he writes, the Communists in Britain and America "called upon their followers to 'crush fascism.' After Russia had got her temporary security through the non-aggression pact with Germany, but the Anglo-French war against Hitler went ahead anyway, the Communists had to oppose it as imperialist. British Communist policy has now run the gauntlet from (1) supporting the war but opposing the Government, to (2) demanding an immediate end to the war as imperialist, to (3) warning against 'counter-revolutionary efforts to stop the war'—the position reached at this writing." American Communists, with "their ability to put themselves out on limbs to be sawed off by Soviet foreign policy," are in even worse case. They persist in "nominating a Negro for the vice-presidency" and in "advocating an autonomous Negro state." This slur upon the Negro people is a concession to white chauvinism that is in sharp contradiction to such broad sympathy for the semi-colonial Chinese people which Snow seems to manifest.* In the same vein he writes: they reserve "Gropper's splendid talent, for example, for attacks mainly on Roosevelt and rearma-

* A similar strain is to be noted in Snow's *racist* treatment of the Japanese people. "Japanese behavior," according to Snow, is explainable by the fact that "the individual Japanese is aware of his unfortunate intellectual and physical inferiority to individual Koreans and Chinese." (p. 68.)

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ment, when the evidence shows that the vast majority of the American people want rearmament because they identify it with security, and that Left leadership should go far enough with that opinion to mobilize it against the capitalist misuse of armament in organizing fascism at home for imperialist war abroad." (pp. 298-299.)

In this last sentence, we begin to reach the nub of Snow's difficulty. His conscious and deliberate distortion of British Communist policy is really a blind to cover his unclear position on the question of the war. He does not try to show how one can support rearmament at a time like the present, and still avoid participation in the war on imperialist terms. His position really leads to direct participation in the war, coupled with an effort to "improve" the aims for which the war is being fought. But since the bourgeoisie control the prosecution of the war, they are more than willing to accept the cooperation of social-minded liberals who are anxious to spin out "respectable aims" for the war. These "aims" are necessary to whitewash its actual content, which the imperialists will know well enough how to realize at the peace table, unless a different sort of opposition from that advanced by Mr. Snow becomes strong enough to make itself felt.

Snow's concluding chapter, in fact, falls pell-mell into the trap of proposing a coat of whitewash to the war. He suggests that a "democratic" program be adopted by which the colonies and semi-colonies, India, Burma, China, etc., should be mobilized for the war against Hitler. Their reward? The "promise" of post-war independence, with "immediate negotiation of conditions for liberation of the advanced colonies." To make the idea plausible, he is forced to advance the argument that India is not really of any great economic significance to Britain! And, further, in his program of the "democratic commonwealth" Snow sees "the only possible method of giving modified capitalism an extension of life and preserving the British Empire as a political unit re-orientated as the focus of a democratic mobilization of the world." The dream of a "modified capitalism" is not something new. Such dreams were spawned in countless numbers during the first imperialist war. They all served a purpose—to help the people feel that, after all, the war was being waged for progressive ends. Lenin devoted his energies, again and again, to the ruthless dissection of these "programs" to make imperialism attractive. His special opponents in this field were the "theoreticians" of the Second International, along with representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie.

Snow himself does not really believe that his "program" will be adopted by the imperialist powers, as he confesses (p. 421). He fears that the American loans to China have bolstered the reactionaries at Chungking, and encouraged them to engaged in even stronger anti-Communist provocations. Nor does he entertain the illusion that the colonies would win their freedom by cooperating with their imperial-

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ist masters in the present war. Why, then, raise such illusions at all? Why not openly declare, as he has often heard Mao Tse-tung say, that freedom for the colonies can only be won by the joint efforts of the colonial peoples, the proletariats of the imperialist countries, and the Soviet Union? And why not state, further, that this struggle must be directed against the imperialist war as such, against both sides of the imperialist war—"democratic" as well as fascist?

In bringing forward these critical observations, we intend in no wise to belittle the important contribution of *The Battle for Asia* toward achieving popularity and friendship in the country for the epic struggle of the Chinese people.

PAUL VARICK

"THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE FORCES WHICH SEEK TO PUSH LIFE FORWARD"

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL CHANGE. By Harry F. Ward. Modern Age Books, New York. $2.50. 293 pages.

ONE of the most illuminating commentaries on the moral values of the capitalist world is the premium placed on renegacy. To shed one's democratic faith as soon as the political weather gets warm is to be acclaimed a sage and "independent thinker," and to receive rewards that comfort the body if not the soul. The subsidized magazines, the fat lecture fees, the more elegant Connecticut house parties, a thousand and one social, political and financial perquisites—all these are opened by the gilded key of political desertion. Fortunately, however, the obscurantist manifestoes of the Macleish-Mumford-*Nation-New Republic* school are only one aspect of the intellectual life of our time. It is a relief to turn from the whimpering and posturing of these summer soldiers to a battle-flag like *Democracy and Social Change*, the latest book of Dr. Harry F. Ward. For here is a work of life and of hope, a challenge to all those who are enamored of capitalist decay, an avowal of faith in mankind and its future.

Dr. Ward may be said to approximate in our country the role of the Dean of Canterbury in England. A clergyman who is highly critical of both institutional religion and of ineffectual liberal religion, he makes his plea for what he calls "prophetic religion," which he regards as "one of the forces for social change." Not a Communist—his new book, in fact, clearly shows that he differs with the Communists on a number of questions—he believes it essential to defend the rights of Communists and to collaborate with them for common progressive aims; and his own thinking has been strongly influenced by Marxism. In short, Dr. Ward is a unique kind of independent socialist with a hardy faith in the common man and a passion for the practice as well as the theory of social justice. And as the former chairman of both the American Civil Liberties Union and the American League for Peace and Democracy he has vitally personified the major issues before the American people today.

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In *Democracy and Social Change* Dr. Ward presents not so much analysis and interpretation as credo, a synthesis of his thought and experience over the years. This is, however, no mere personal statement, but the expression of a social philosophy challenging fulfillment in action.

Dr. Ward's argument is simple. The capitalist system has broken down and revealed its inability to provide for the well-being of the people and expand democracy. On the contrary, capitalism and democracy are increasingly incompatible. The Roosevelt Administration, which sought to solve the problems of capitalism within the framework of the profit system, merely demonstrated "beyond dispute that the disease which caused the breakdown of the capitalist economy is organic." A change is needed. "The record of the New Deal and its swing to the right, its attack with one hand upon what it has been building with the other, shows us that the attempt to preserve both capitalism and democracy is like trying to ride two horses that are going in opposite directions." Dr. Ward concludes that only a socialist planned economy can abolish the evils inherent in capitalism and provide the foundation for a genuinely democratic society. He then develops various aspects of his thesis, discussing in separate chapters the nature of the bourgeois democratic state, the fascist threat, the red scare, the intellectuals, the role of religion, the war, civil liberties, the democratic front, and other related problems. For him the immediate struggle, by educating the people, leads eventually to the socialist goal.

As evidence that socialist planned economy is indeed the solution to capitalist anarchy and breakdown Dr. Ward cites the achievements of the Soviet Union.

"It is no longer possible," he writes, "to dismiss as idealistic theorizing the idea of a society coordinated around a planned economy. The first experimental steps to put it into history have already been taken. Over 170,000,000 people of the Soviet Union are now administering their life by the new method of social-economic planning, on a scale whose scope and complexity is bewildering at first to the observer from the older world. Just as the United States is demonstrating what cannot be done by state aid to make the profit-seeking economy work, so the Soviet Union is demonstrating what can be done with a planned social economy, supported by socialist state power.

". . . The amount of productive plant created in twenty years, the degree of cooperation secured, the advance achieved in the scale of living and the extension of culture constitute one of the significant achievements of history. . . . While capitalist society has been going down, Soviet society has been going up. This judgment rests upon detailed personal observation and is confirmed by the later study of Sidney and Beatrice Webb."

This positive attitude toward the Soviet Union is an integral part of Dr. Ward's entire outlook. For him the U.S.S.R. represents the fundamentals of his own faith: socialism, peace, and full-blooded democracy.

Dr. Ward is deeply concerned to keep America out of war and fascism out of America. "Can we de-

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feat foreign fascism only by bringing native fascism to power?" he asks. "There is a way out of this terrible dilemma. It is to defeat the anti-democratic forces within our democracy. This can be accomplished only by successful resistance to every incitement to war except the concrete threat of invasion and to every attack upon democratic rights and social well-being, by putting the people's control over genuine national defense. This means that the democratic forces have to become strong enough to take control away from monopoly capitalism and its political agents, to establish a people's government, and then lay the foundations of a democratic social economy so that a new base for peace can be offered to the rest of the world."

And as part of the real defense of democracy Dr. Ward includes uncompromising hostility to red-baiting in every form. One of the outstanding contributions of *Democracy and Social Change* is its defense of the rights of Communists and its able refutation of the canard that seeks to lump Communism with fascism.

"The vital point in the defense of civil liberties," Dr. Ward writes, "is the political rights of the Communist Party or any other which may take a similar position. If the liberals who believe in our Bill of Rights now permit the Communist Party to be outlawed or its members blacklisted for unemployment and slow starvation, they will stand in history in the growing company of those who in this crisis betrayed democracy. . . . Of vital importance is a new direction for our foreign policy. If the American people are to develop their democratic tradition, their affinity lies not with those who have brought Europe to its present disaster, but with those who are seeking to develop democracy in China, in India, in Mexico, in Chile, in Cuba, in Russia, and anywhere else that democratic forces of the people appear."

Not the least part of the excellence of this book is the clarity of presentation; Dr. Ward has a talent for getting at the core of a complex problem, often in a pithy aphoristic phrase. I believe, however, that greater documentation to buttress the argument would have enhanced the book's effectiveness.

In his discussion of fascism Dr. Ward correctly attacks the pet liberal theory that the fascist state is revolutionary. "The fascist state," he writes, "registers the victory of the capitalist imperialist elements over the democratic elements in modern society." On the other hand, however, he mistakenly sees fascism as a product in part of middle-class revolt, failing to distinguish between the class whom fascism serves, the monopoly capitalists, and the class whom it deludes into providing the mass base for the people's servitude, the petty bourgeoisie. Similarly, he feels that fascism has meant for the capitalists "the loss of their freedom to invest and to direct their workers, except where they can bribe, or become party officials." It is true that the acceleration of state capitalist tendencies under fascism results in certain restrictions for the capitalists, but these are restric-

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tions imposed in the interest of the largest monopolists who control the state. All scientific data indicate that the fascist dictatorship has increased the privileges and power of these monopolists and placed the employers in absolute control of the workers.

Essentially, however, *Democracy and Social Change* is a sound, courageous and heart-warming book. It is testimony that, amid the shifting tides and cross-currents of our day, Dr. Ward holds firmly to the course of true democracy. He is no ivory pulpit preacher, but one who lives and thinks and fights among the people, nourished by their wisdom and strength, working for their victory. And the book's concluding words might well serve as a credo for all progressives:

"The present duty is to proceed with the mobilization of the democratic forces and trust the people. This is the essence of democracy—faith in the capacities of the people. It is time to act upon it, remembering, through all defeats, that the future belongs to the forces which seek to push life forward. The forces of death may win some battles, but they are doomed to defeat in the end."

A. B. MAGIL

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